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HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL

MEMOIR OF THE GHAZEEPOOR DISTRICT:

BY

WILTON OLDHAM, B.C.S., L.L.D.

PART I.

ALLAHABAD:

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PREFACE.

A Statistical and Historical Memoir for the Ghazeepoor District is in course of preparation, in accordance with the orders of the Lieutenant-Governors, Mr. Thomason, of 1844 A. D., and Sir. W. Muir, of June, 1868 A. D.

It is proposed that the work, besides narrating the past history of the District, shall describe its present state. Chapters will be devoted to the subjects of Castes, Religion, Education, Local Peculiarities of Dialect, Trades, Manufactures, Agriculture, the Land Tenures of the District, the Relations of Landlord and Tenant, and the system of Judicial and Revenue Administrations.

Some account of the manufacture of Opium, and of the history of the monopoly, will be given, and a chapter allotted to the history and present state of the Law relating to Alluvion and Diluvion in the District.

With the sanction of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, five chapters, completed, about a fourth of the whole work, are now published as the first part of the Memoir. In the preparation of this fragment, much help has been received from Dr. Thomas Oldham, Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra, the Revd. M. A. Sherring, Mr. Henry Blochmann, and several other gentlemen.

Mr. P. Robinson assisted me by making an abstract of the Benares Records. The late and much-lamented Rajah Sir Deonarain Singh K.C.S.I., Chowdhree Goordutt Singh, one of the chief officers of the Maharajah of Benares, Syud Ali Hussun Tehseeldar, procured some valuable and interesting manuscripts.

In accordance with the orders of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of 23rd June, 1868, scientific transliteration in the spelling of names has not been attempted.

Names and places have been written according to the commonly received orthography.

After the completion of the work, in order to secure the means of strict accuracy for literary purposes, an Appendix will, in conformity with the above orders, be added, giving for all names used the vernacular spelling in Persian and Nâgri, and the English spelling according to the system of the Asiatic Society.

Ghazeepoor, November 22nd, 1870.

N.W.P.

RESOLUTION

BY

THE HON'BLE THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, N.-W. PROVINCES,

REGARDING THE

COMPILATION OF "GAZETTEERS," OR HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL MEMOIRS FOR THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF THE N.-W. PROVINCES.

Dated Allahabad, the 23rd June, 1868.

GENERAL DEPT.

READ letters from the Government of India, Home Department, Nos. 723 to 728 and 1556, dated the 30th May, 1867, and 31st March, 1868, calling attention to the compilation of *The Central Provinces' Gazetteer*, and desiring that "steps may be taken to initiate a similar work for the North-Western Provinces."

ORDERED,—That the following Minute be recorded :—

In 1844 Mr. Thomason laid down a plan for the preparation of an Historical and Statistical Report for every district in these Provinces. The orders are preserved in Appendix XXIV. of the *Directions to Collectors*. The instructions are so full and practical that, in now reviving the plan with reference to the foregoing Despatch, I cannot do better than extract them in full :—

"*1st*,—It is very desirable to collect together all the statistical information which has been acquired during the late settlement, to throw it into a convenient form, and publish it for general information. The object of the undertaking is strictly practical. It should form an official history of each district, and contain all that will enable the public officers of Government to understand the peculiarities of the district and conduct its administration.

"*2nd*,—There should be a separate volume for each district as at present constituted.

"*3rd*,—Each volume should consist of three parts—the Narrative, the Tabular, and the Geographical.

"*4th*,—The Narrative portion should comprise in the first place a general account of the whole district, its position, features, capabilities, history before our acquisition of the country and since, as far as can be known; when it assumed its present limits; what changes have occurred in the Judicial, Magistorial, or Revenue jurisdictions; lists of Judges, Collectors, and Magistrates, with dates of assuming charge; dates of introduction of special measures, *e. g*, Special Commission under Regulation I., 1821; Maâfee Deputy Collectors, Commission under III., 1828; dates on which changes of system took effect, such as cessation of powers of Provincial Courts, conferment of Criminal powers on Session Judges, &c.

"*5th*,—Local division should be stated—pergunnahs, tehseels, thaunahs, moonsiffees. These may conveniently be tabulated in the body of the narrative, and should show the pergunnahs, &c., geographically arranged from N.-W. to S.-E., and the area, jumma, population of each.

"*6th*,—From generals the account should proceed to details, pergunnah by pergunnah, arranged in the order in which they stand in the table.

"*7th*,—The fiscal history of each pergunnah should be given—former assessment as contrasted with the present. A correct jumma wasilbakee, from the commencement of our rule to the present time, would be most curious if it could be given. This should be according to the Fuslee year up to 1840-41, and after that the Commercial year. There should also be a note of all sums remitted as irrecoverable from first to last, with mention of the year for which and on which remitted.

"8*th*,—The tenures should be described and classed as accurately as may be, and all peculiarities of the agricultural population shown—their tribe or caste, early history, present state, rank, and character.

"9*th*,—The chief towns should be mentioned, their size, products, rise, former state, present state, probable prospects.

"10*th*,—Any remarkable suits or proceedings should be noticed,—the dissolution of old farms or talooquas, the fall of old influential families or the rise of new ones, effects of the Special Commission, general effect of Revenue and Judicial system whenever observable, as transferring property from one class of men to another.

"11*th*,—The fullest particulars should be given regarding the last settlement—when commenced, by whom conducted, when completed, and on what principle; how it has subsequently worked. Settlement Reports should be printed entire in an Appendix.

"12*th*,—Statistical information should be given regarding education, the number of schools and scholars, the subjects taught and emoluments of teachers.

"13*th*,—Means of improvement—rivers capable of being turned to account for purposes of irrigation or navigation; markets which might be opened by new roads; tanks, reservoirs, bunds, which might be formed; drainage, where required.

"14*th*,—All the authorities on which the statements are based should be carefully given—whether books, official records, or personal observation."*

The idea conveyed in the above orders was but imperfectly realized. Memoirs of the kind contemplated have been prepared and published only for the districts in the margin.

Goorgaon.	Allygurh.	Futtehpore.
Budaon.	Cawnpore.	Goruckpore.

Another settlement has now come round, and the opportunity is suitable for fully carrying into effect the views sketched out by Mr. Thomason.

Ample materials are at hand, and the work can at once be taken up for the permanently-settled districts, and for those in which the new settlement has been concluded. Where the settlement is yet in progress, or in prospect, it will be better to defer commencement until the settlement has been completed. But it will not be necessary to wait until the settlement has been confirmed by Government.

For the districts in which reports were prepared under the orders of 1844, it will be necessary to embody information upon subsequent events, and generally to complete and improve the work.

For the rest, the compiler will have the reports of the former and present settlements, and such papers as the published Narratives of Events in 1857-58, Census Reports, papers regarding famines, the volume of Selections from the Revenue Records of the North-Western Provinces in 1818, published by the Foreign Department in 1866, and such like.

The effects of the mutiny year and of subsequent proceedings upon property, and upon any classes of the community chiefly affected thereby for better or for worse, should be clearly brought out. All leading events materially touching the people, or the administration of any department, such as famines, floods, extensive hail-storms, epidemics, should be traced. Curious and important information might also be obtained as to the course of prices current from very early times to the present.

The leading effects of canal irrigation should be noticed on the habits and growth of the population, on the spring level of the country, and on the climate; similarly, changes in the amount and direction of the local or general trade, both export and import, since the introduction of Railways; the growth of new towns and qusbas, the

* The Tabular and Geographical instructions have been omitted, and also those for the preparation of mouzahwar lists. Some of the latter proved of much use after the destruction of records in 1857; but they are too bulky for the work.

decline of old ones; any symptoms of the change in population from agricultural occupations to urban life and trade, or *vice versâ;* growth or decrease of junglos, forest trees, &c., and all such matters.

The tabular portion should contain all necessary statistics of area, population, revenue, education, mortuary returns, and the like.

The Area Table, besides the ordinary entries of cultivated, fallow, and barren waste, will show details of irrigated and unirrigated land—the latter being distinguished into what is irrigated from wells, canals, and other sources.

The Population Table should show, if possible, the returns of every previous census, with such particulars of caste and employment as may be available. The number of souls in towns containing above 5,000 should be stated.

The Revenue Table should give the results by pergunnahs, with the rate of incidence on the total, malgoozaree, and cultivated areas, and the assessment of former settlements should, as far as possible, be given.

Revenues from other sources than land assessment should also be noted.

The Education Table should contain a list of all colleges, schools, and village schools, with the average attendance at the time being.

The Mortuary Table will contain all details available from the time the returns were first set on foot.

There should be a map for each tehseelee or pergunnah, showing chief towns, markets, and Police posts, and the outline of the Revenue and Civil sub-divisions, the Customs line, canals and rajbuhas, railways, and main roads.

In the Circular of 1844 it was directed that vernacular words and names should be "turned into English according to the plan of the Record Committee."—See Appendix I., *Directions to Settlement Officers.* "This scheme was adopted by the Record Committee in 1821. It has, therefore, the sanction of official authority, and is besides recommended as that which an Englishman would naturally adopt, without aiming at great refinement or accuracy." Names and places must, therefore, be written according to the commonly-received orthography. Indeed, to adopt the scientific mode of transliteration in the body of such works would produce confusion and embarrassment, and greatly detract from their value and practical use for administrative ends. But, in order to secure the means of strict accuracy for literary purposes, an Appendix will be added to each volume, giving the chief names of rivers, cities, towns, temples, hills, or other objects, as well as the names of the leading families or chief men adverted to in the body of the work, in the manner shown in the following table:—

Name as written in this work.	*Name in Vernacular.*		Same according to Asiatic Society's spelling.	Remarks.
	Persian.	Hindee.		
Cawnpore ...	کانهپور	कान्हपुर	Kánhpúr ...	Head quarters of the District.
Futtehpore ...	فتحپور	...	Fathpúr ...	Do.
Futtehgurh ...	فتحگڈھ	...	Fathgarh ...	Do.
Sasoor Khiredee ...	سسرکھریدي	सुसर खरेदी	Sasúr Kharedí	A river.
Peepul ...	پیپل	पीपल	Pípal ...	A tree.
Burgud ...	برگد	बरगद	Bargad ...	Do.

Further instructions for this mode of transliteration will be issued separately.

A few years ago an effort was made to provide fuller materials for *Thornton's Gazetteer;* these were obtained from the various districts, and were compiled by Mr. Dale, but the new edition of that work has not yet been published in England. The original materials have, however, been preserved, and have now been returned to each district, where they will be available for the purposes of the present work.

I do not desire to impose the task upon any special functionary. I am well aware that it will only be satisfactorily performed by those who possess a taste for this special kind of employment, and the consequent disposition to take it up with zeal for its own sake. Among the Settlement Officers, and the numerous Assistants now attached to that department, there must be many whose position and duties would peculiarly qualify them to compile a work of the kind intended; and I feel safe in trusting to the public spirit, zeal, and literary powers of this class, and of the Junior Officers of the service at large, promptly and effectively to carry out the plan. It would be a reproach to the North-Western Provinces if volunteers in sufficient numbers were not forthcoming for the work. Useful *Gazetteers* have been published for the districts in the Central Provinces; the Government of India expects similar compilations from all other administrations, and we, to whom the project has been so long familiar, ought not to be behindhand.

It should be kept in view that these works are intended not only for English readers, but for the native public also; and for their benefit the memoirs will eventually be translated. It is possible, indeed, that native writers might be found competent to aid in compiling chapters, or even a complete memoir, the contents of which would be useful for the English work. The present Minute should be with this view translated and published in the *Oordoo Gazette.*

I look to the Commissioners of Divisions to keep these instructions in view, and from time to time, as opportunity offers, to endeavour to make suitable arrangements for carrying them into effect, and for encouraging some well-qualified officer in each district to take up the work in earnest.

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL MEMOIR

OF THE

GHAZEEPOOR DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE DISTRICT.

Situation and area of district.

THE district of Ghazeepoor lies between latitude 25° 19′ and 26° 2′ north, and between longitude 83° 7′ and 84° 40′ east from Greenwich, and contains 2,195 square miles; of which 1,820 miles lie to the north, and 375 miles to the south of the Ganges. It is surrounded by the districts of Benares, Jounpoor, Azimgurh, Sarun, and Shahabad.

The division north of the Ganges

The northern portion forms a belt some 20 miles wide along the Ganges, between the Goomtee and the Ghogra, and terminates in the triangular delta between the Ghogra and the Ganges.

It is divided into unequal parts, of which the western is the larger, by the Surjoo, a perennial tributary of the Ganges, which has its origin from the junction of the Tonse river with a branch of the Ghogra, in the Azimgurh District.

The district south of the Ganges.

The southern portion of the district is a tract of country of irregular shape, lying between the Ganges and the Karumnasa rivers, above their confluence.

No hill, but an upland and a lowland plain.

No hill or natural eminence is to be found in the district; but there is, both north and south of the Ganges, an upland and a lowland tract of country; and the rise from the lower to the higher plain is everywhere perceptible, and in some places so marked as to present somewhat the appearance of a low range of hills. This rise is sometimes met with at a distance of several miles from any river; but, on investigation, it will be found invariably to have been at one time the bank of a river, in the former channel of which the lowland has been formed by fluvial deposits.

Age of upland formation.

The Geological Survey of India believe that the upland of this portion of the Ganges valley forms a part of an old delta of the river, formed under very different conditions from those at present existing, and the period of which coincided partly with pleiocene of European geologists (1).

Elevation of upland formation

The general level of upland tract gradually falls from a height of about 250 feet above the mean sea level at the west, to a height of about 200 feet above the sea on the east of the district (2). This general upland level is from ten to twenty feet above the highest, and fifty to seventy feet above the lowest, level of the Ganges; in some few places it attains a greater elevation.

(1). On the authority of Dr. Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey.

(2). See list of heights ascertained by Grand Trigonometrical Survey in 1865, from Agra to Calcutta, published at Roorkee, 1866, for the southern portion of the district and the adjacent parts of Shahabad.

The altitude of Ghazeepoor, mentioned by Hermann de Schlagintweit, in his Meteorological Chart, *viz.*, 351 feet above mean sea level, is obviously not correct; because Ghazeepoor is not so high above the Ganges as Benares, and the river at Benares, which flows thence to Ghazeepoor, must be higher than at Ghazeepoor: but, by Schlagintweit, Benares is only 347 feet above the sea, or 4 feet lower than Ghazeepoor.

The Ganges, which at Mirzapoor has a maximum rise of fifty-two, and in Benares of forty-eight feet, having here a wider course, has not a maximum rise of more than forty-five feet in the west, and of about thirty-five feet in the east of the district.

Rise of Ganges in district.

The upland country everywhere contains the impure nodular carbonate of lime called kunkur.

Kunkur.

In some places this crops out in masses at the surface; in others it is only found by penetrating through thirty or forty feet of clay. It exists in some localities as a solid and compact mass, which might almost be called a rock; in others as a coarse gravel, mixed with fine grains of a ferruginous gritty substance.

The rocky and massive kunkur can for years resist the action of a violent current; while the small kunkur, mixed with iron stone gravel, renders the soil in which it exists peculiarly friable.

The upland pleiocene formation of a fresh-water origin.

It is supposed by geologists that these older alluvial beds (pleiocene) of this part of India had a fresh-water origin.

The formation of kunkur can more easily be explained on the hypothesis of a fresh-water than of a marine origin. The water which flows from the limestone ranges of the Himalayas contains in solution a large amount of bicarbonate of lime. On exposure to the air, carbonic acid is given out, and the soluble bicarbonate is changed into the insoluble carbonate of lime. During this process, if any small particles of carbonate of lime are present, nodules are formed around them.

The source of the supply of water, and of substances held in suspension by water, must have been the same during the pleiocene period as at present.

Source of water and of deposits same as now.

The fact that no trace is to be found of any ridge of hills, rocks, or other natural barrier capable of retaining the waters of a great lake, goes to prove that the fresh-water deposits of the Gangetic valley are probably rather of a fluvial than of a lacustrine origin; but if this conclusion be admitted, it will not necessarily follow that—so far as relates to the level, the precise locality, and other conditions—the rivers during the time of the formation of the upland tracts were the same as those existing at present.

Deposits probably fluvial rather than lacustrine, but formed under different conditions from those now formed.

The following reasons may be adduced for adopting an opposite opinion.

1. In countries formed by now existing rivers, such as Lower Bengal and the delta of the Mississippi, the country nearest to the river, raised by annual deposits of earth, is higher than the interior. Nothing of the kind is observed in the upland tracts of this district.

Reasons for this conclusion.

2. When the country has been formed by a now existing river system, it is entirely, or in great part, liable to submersion in high floods; but the upland tracts of this district are never submerged.

3. Furthermore, in the lowland tracts, which we know to have been formed by the Ganges and its tributaries as they now exist, kunkur is never found; while in the upland formation of this district it is never absent.

If these conclusions be admitted, it will follow that at one time the entire district was an upland tract; but whether they are admitted or not, there can be no doubt that formerly the upland tract was much larger than it now is; and that from time immemorial the upland tract has been yearly diminished by the destructive action of the rivers

Nearly the whole, if not the whole, district once upland.

running through it: so that now the area occupied by the river beds, and the lowlands formed in them, equals the area of the upland remaining (3).

Action of river in destroying upland and forming lowland.

The action of the river in destroying upland and forming lowland is very simple and intelligible. At all curves in the river, the current, setting against the concave or outer side of the curve, undermines, and ultimately destroys, the bank; at the same time, in the comparatively still water on the inner or convex side of the curve, sand and mud, brought down by the river in the rainy season, and held in suspension where the stream is fast, are deposited. The first deposits, while the current has still some force, are of sand; afterwards, as the water becomes more shallow, the current becomes weaker, and fine mud is deposited. The thickness of annual deposit varies from a few inches to several feet. The deposits are most rapidly formed in still water in close proximity to a rapid current, as in creeks of the river.

Surface of well-raised lowland each lower strata of sand.

This accounts for a general law, which holds true with regard to the Gangetic lowland of this district, that the upper surface of a well-raised lowland tract is invariably earth; but that, by penetrating a few feet below the surface, sand is always met with.

Comparative rapidity of destructive action.

I may here mention that the destructive action of the current, where it sets against a mass of compact kunkur, is so slow as to be almost imperceptible. When the kunkur is sparse and fine, the action of the current is comparatively rapid; for example, at the bend of the river, near the town and railway station of Zumaneah, the average encroachment for the last thirty years has been twelve feet yearly.

When the current sets against a lowland bank of fluvial deposit, the action is very rapid; for example, in the east of Pergunnah Kurrendah, during the last thirty years, a strip of country between three or four hundred feet wide has been yearly washed away by the river. Several villages have been entirely destroyed, and a fertile tract of about three thousand five hundred acres carried away.

Character of deposits of rivers.

The general character of the deposits of a river depends in a great degree upon the length of its course from the hills. The Ganges, which deposits sand in Rohilkhund, in the Ghazeepoor District deposits alternate sand and mud. In Lower Bengal it would probably deposit pure mud; only that after leaving this district it is joined by powerful tributaries from the adjacent mountain ranges.

Character of deposits of the Ganges and Ghogra.

There is an essential difference between the deposits of the Ganges and those of the Ghogra, and its branch, the Surjoo, in this district.

In the deposits of the latter streams, which have run a shorter course from the hills, sand predominates; while the Gangetic deposits are principally of mud. A high flood in the Ganges is welcomed by the cultivators of the lowlands, even when it destroys a standing crop, for it leaves behind it a deposit of fertile earth. A flood in the Ghogra or Surjoo is deprecated, as it injures the standing crop, and produces no permanent improvement of the soil to compensate for the injury.

Width of river and lowland strips of principal rivers.

The general width of the Ghogra, including the lowland formed in its bed, is about eight miles; and that of the Surjoo and Goomtee about two miles. The bed of the Ganges with its lowlands is, in the west of the district, about five miles, and in the east about sixteen miles, wide. In a high flood the Ganges and the Ghogra, uniting their waters,

(3.) This is ascertained by weighing the portion of district map of upland tract against that containing the lowland tract.

submerge the entire delta which lies between them, except the artificially raised village sites; and in the eastern portion of the delta or Doabeh, even artificial elevations do not exist. Cultivators reside for eight months in temporary huts, or *chuppers*, and retire for the rains to the villages of Sarun, or to the better raised parts of the Pergunnah Doabeh.

Time occupied in attaining present width.

Opposite to Zumaneah, where, as noticed above, the present destruction of the upland bank is at the rate of twelve feet yearly, the total width of the Ganges bed is twelve miles. If we allow an original bed of two miles in width, the Ganges has destroyed a strip of upland ten miles wide; and at the present rate of annual encroachments, this strip would require four thousand four hundred years for its destruction. The actual time during which the Ganges has been at work attaining its present width must have been far greater, because the upland bank now exposed to fluvial action is peculiarly friable; while the kunkur on the northern bank of the same structure as that which the river destroyed ages ago is very hard and compact; besides, the more a river cuts into a bank, the more rapid does its action become. A stream which in a straight course does not cut its bank, and in a slight curve acts slowly, as the curve becomes sharper, and the action of the current more direct, constantly increases in the rapidity of its destructive action. It may, therefore, I think, be safely asserted that the Ganges could not have in this district accomplished all that it has done in less than ten thousand years.

Causes retarding destruction of upland.

It is probable that the destruction of upland would have been greater than it has actually been, were it not that when a curve eating into an upland bank becomes more and more acute, in time the flanks of the lowland tract formed on the convex side of the curve become themselves exposed to a current which they have no power of resisting; and, after a while, a new and direct channel is formed, making an island of the peninsular lowland tract.

Formation of narrow lakes in old channels.

In some cases those parts of the old channel adjacent to the new course silt up, leaving at the bend of the river a long and narrow lake or jheel. Jheels of this kind have been formed by the Ganges in the centre of Zumaneah Pergunnah. In the Khureed Pergunnah there is a long series of narrow lakes called the "Duh," formed by the Ghogra, which in this district is called the Dehwah. In the rains, the Duh is connected with the Ghogra, and forms a branch of it; but in the dry season, the lakes, which are clear and beautiful, and abound with fish, are entirely separated from the Ghogra by natural ridges of silt.

Changes in course of the Ganges.

Some of the changes which have occurred in the course of the Ganges are interesting, and worthy of mention.

Near Sydpoor, it would appear that the junction of the Ganges and the Goomtee, which is now a couple of miles above the town of Sydpoor, was formerly at Sydpoor, or below it; but the current of the Ganges cutting through the upland ridge which separates the rivers, the Ganges adopted the course of the smaller stream. The old bed, now called the "Boorh Gung," has silted up, and is now only used by the Ganges in an unusually high flood. Opposite to Sydpoor, south of the present course, and north of the old channel, there is a small island of upland formation.

Above Buxar.

A similar but larger insular upland tract exists at Beerpoor and Narainpoor, north of the Ganges, and a short distance above Buxar.

This tract lies between the former and the present channel of the Ganges, and its insulation appears to have been caused by the Ganges cutting through the upland wall which divided it from the Karumnasa, and adopting the more direct course of that river.

This change in the Gangetic course appears to be comparatively recent, because the width of the present channel at Beerpoor, confined between two upland banks, does not exceed a mile. If the Ganges had long flowed in its present course, it would certainly have won for itself a wider channel, as the present rate of encroachment on the northern bank is rapid. In high floods the Ganges still flows in its old course, direct from Mahomedabad to Karon, along the Bulliah road. The people of this part of the district commonly state that when their ancestors first settled there, three or four hundred years ago, this was the main channel. This statement is probably not correct; but the change on the river may actually have taken place at an earlier period, and the remembrance of the change survived in tradition.

Reason for concluding their change as not very ancient.

Below Buxar the destructive action of the Ganges on the southern upland bank in Pergunnah Bhojpoor, Zillah Shahabad, has for many years past been very rapid, and extensive alluvial deposits have been formed on the northern bank in the Ghazeepoor District.

Change in course below Buxar.

Proceeding further eastward, it is probable, though not certain, that the great Sooraha lake, containing 8,500 acres, was once a northern bend in the Gangetic course. The country north of the lake is upland; all south of it is a fluvial lowland formation. The lake is still connected with the Ganges by a narrow deep cut called the Kuttehur river, which joins the Ganges and Surjoo at their confluence at Bulliah; and serves both to admit the water of the Ganges during the height of the rains, and also as an outlet for the surplus water of the lake. I may here mention, in passing, that for the irrigation of thousands of acres nothing is required but the construction of a weir on the Kuttehur river, regulating the ingress and egress of the Ganges water (4).

Sooraha Lake.

It is possible that the Surjoo river (called by the Emperor Baber the Perseru), (5) a small branch of the Ghogra, was once the main channel. This, however, is not probable, as the bed of the Surjoo would not form a channel large enough for so great a river as the Ghogra. It is worthy of note that the people of the district state that the Surjoo is neither so deep nor so large a stream as it was in former years.

The Surjoo.

Following the course of the Ganges eastward, between the towns of Bulliah and Huldee, an alluvial lowland peninsula has recently been cut through by the Ganges. Beyond Huldee, the northern bank of the Ganges is at present exposed to a rapid destructive action of the stream, and thousands of acres have been destroyed within the present century.

Change in Ganges below Bulliah.

East of the Bulliah Pergunnah, separating it from the Doabeh Pergunnah, a low-lying narrow channel, submerged in the rains, called the "Boorh Gung," or old Ganges, occurs. This was formerly the main channel of the Ganges; and the Doabeh Pergunnah (which, till 1838, A.D., appertained to Shahabad) lay to the south, while it now lies to the north of the main stream of the Ganges. Prior to the change of the course of the Ganges, the

The Boorh Gung of Pergunnah Doabeh.

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(4). A project has been submitted to Government for the construction of a weir with gates, and of some small irrigation canals, with a view of attaining the following objects :—

(I). Protection of the rice crops of the lake from the injurious effects caused by a sudden influx of the Ganges water before the rice is strong.

(II). Prevention of the reflux of the Ganges water, on the river falling, before the rice is ripe.

(III). The retention of a larger amount of water than is now retained, and its utilization for irrigation of the spring crops. (It is proposed to raise the level of the water of the lake about eight feet.)

(IV). The conversion of the Kuttehur nuddee into a large canal, available for irrigation.

(V). The distribution of the water retained in the lake through the low-lying tracts in its vicinity by small canals, for irrigation of the spring crops.

(5). See Erskine's Baber (published in London, 1826), page 421.

Ghogra and the Ganges met at or near Bhaka, eighteen miles west of their present confluence; and at a still more remote period, the confluence appears to have been at Sahutwar, six miles west of Bhaka;—the most easterly point in the district in which kunkur, or upland formation, is to be met with.

The channel adopted by the Ganges when the Boorh Gung was abandoned (since about 1820) was probably not a new one, but existed as a minor channel for a very long period. The general tendency of the courses of the Ghogra, the Ganges, and the Soane, is to destroy the uplands of Sarun and Patna, and to increase the lowland deltas between the Ghogra and the Ganges and between the Ganges and the Soane.

Bhojpoor, Beeheea, and Arrah, in the Shahabad District, now ten miles south of the Ganges, were undoubtedly once situated on the southern bank of the river.

The Jumna Nuddee.

When the Boorh Gung was a main channel of the Ganges, the Sooraha lake was connected with it, by the Jumna river meeting it near the old confluence of the Ganges and Ghogra at Bhaka. This channel has now completely silted up, and the Kuttehur river mentioned above has taken its place.

The Tenghuree Nuddee.

In the north-east of the Doabeh Pergunnah, there is a perennial branch of the Ghogra, called the Tenghuree. This branch, it is commonly stated, was the main channel of the Ghogra after the abandonment of the Duh, and before the adoption of the present channel.

Changes now occurring, and likely to occur.

The only place where the present action of the Ganges is peculiarly interesting is, as has been before noticed, at Zumaneah, and in the Kurrendah Pergunnah. If the present rate of destructive action on the southern upland bank be continued for about 400 years, the East India Railway will be destroyed; and, long before that time, unless proper precautions are adopted, the line is likely to be carried away by the Moujee nullah, a torrent which at this point joins the Ganges. The Ganges is at this point separated from the Karumnasa by a strip of upland six miles wide, which at the present rate of annual encroachment it would take three thousand years to cut through. It is, however, probable that long before a tenth part of this period has elapsed, the Ganges will have made a course for itself across the Kurrendah Pergunnah; and that the present channel, near Zumaneah, will either completely silt up, or else become a lake. The present rate of destructive action in Kurrendah is so rapid that it would not be surprising if the pergunnah were cut through on the first unusually high flood which may occur.

Changes in river course at first injurious.

It may be remarked that changes in the river's course are generally at the time injurious, as the lands destroyed are well raised and productive; while the newly formed lands are generally sandy and low-lying. It is not till they have been raised by successive deposits that equilibrium is restored.

Capabilities of upland country.

The upland tracts of the district are generally fertile; but without irrigation, or cold weather rain, they will not produce a spring crop. A considerable extent of land is under rice cultivation.

Reh.

The soil in many places has a tendency to produce the efflorescent salt called reh, which is most injurious to vegetation; and this tendency is much increased by the obstruction to the drainage of the country consequent on rice cultivation. Soils which, if well washed by thorough drainage, would be entirely free from reh, develop it when water is allowed to stagnate upon them till it evaporates, leaving any salts held in solution in deposit on the surface of the ground. A considerable extent of upland country is also rendered unproductive by the presence of kunkur at the surface. *(See Note A.)*

In the lowland fluvial deposits there is no kunkur, no reh, and, except in very recent formations, little sand at the surface.

Capabilities of lowland tracts.

The higher part of the lowlands, only liable to occasional submersion from the river, bear all kinds of crops except rice, which I have never seen grown in the lowlands. In the event of an unusually high flood, the khurreef, or rainy season crops, are lost; but the cultivator is compensated by an abundant spring harvest. Many extensive tracts of lowland have never been submerged within the memory of man.

Well raised lowland.

In the intermediate levels, that is, those liable to annual submersion, only spring crops are grown.

Intermediate lowland.

The lowest lying lands, deposited by the Ganges in years when there has been a scanty rain-fall, and consequently a slow current, produce hot weather rice; or else, without ploughing, they are sprinkled with oat or wheat seeds after the end of the rains, and produce an abundant crop. These low-lying muddy tracts are frequently sowed before they have consolidated sufficiently for a man to walk on them; and the operation of scattering the seed, a very difficult and dangerous one, is entrusted to boys, who sprinkle it as they swim through the fluid mud. In the Sooraha lake, and some other jheels, a species of lake rice—not grown in other parts of the district—is grown, which attains a great height, and is very productive.

The lowest level.

The black soil of this district, called *kurrele*, resembling the *marh* or black soil of Bundelkhund, requires some notice. This soil is common in all the lowland formations, and is also found in the upland tracts south of the Ganges, and near the Karumnasa. The black soil, which contains much alumina, can with difficulty be traversed during the rains; and when it dries up, it splits into innumerable cracks and fissures. The black soil produces a good spring crop without irrigation, and even without cold season rain, when it has been submerged in the rainy season, either from the rise in the Ganges or from the accumulation of rain-water, as occurs most years. But when this is not the case the crop is lost; for, owing to the cracks and fissures on the ground, which swallow up water applied to the surface, irrigation is impossible. The character of the soil is improved if sand is spread over it, and irrigation then becomes practicable. Sand can, in lowland formations, always be procured by digging down a few feet.

Black soil.

The newly formed sandy deposits adjacent to the Ganges generally produce only thatching grass (*surpat*, or *dhonrh*), which grows to the height of twelve or sixteen feet; but when beneath a layer of two or three feet deep of sand there exists a stratum of clay, the cultivation of melons is possible. A very large extent of land in this district is occupied with melon cultivation (6). The plant spreads itself over the sand, but derives all its moisture and nourishment from the lower stratum. Deep holes are bored down to the clay beneath, and in them the young melons are planted. The holes are then filled with loose sand; and they make most dangerous pitfalls for a rider, or even for an unwary walker.

Sandy new formation of Ganges.

It is hardly necessary to mention that nearly all village sites on the lowland formation are artificially raised, as the greater part of lowland country is liable to submersion in a high flood. An unfortunate result of this is, that the villages in the lowlands are surrounded, and sometimes penetrated, by a series of irregular pits or tanks, in which, during the rainy

Village sites in lowland artificially raised.

(6). At the time of the Emperor Baber, as appears from his autobiography, melons were not grown in India.

season, people are often drowned; and which, when it terminates, become receptacles for filth, and fertile sources of malaria and disease.

A suggestion.

These inconveniences would be obviated, if the people could be induced to dig the earth for the elevated foundation, and for the erection of their houses, from symmetrical tanks at a short distance from the village, instead of excavating it, as they do now, from pits and holes close to their houses.

Three principal non-permanent rivers.

The country north of the Ganges is traversed by three streams, the Gangee, the Basoo, and the Mungaee, which run about ten miles apart, from the north-west to the Ganges; approximately parallel to the Goomtee and the Surjoo, between which they flow.

During the dry season, these streams are reduced to the most insignificant dimensions; and in seasons of unusual drought they entirely fail; but in the rainy season they are broad, deep, and swift.

The Ooduntee is a large tributary of the Basoo, the middle stream; and on the northern border of the district flows the Bhysyee, a tributary to the Surjoo.

Artificial temporary dams.

The cultivators, at intervals along the courses of these streams, erect during the dry season *bunds* or dams, which are washed away in the first fall of rain, for the purpose of obtaining reservoirs for the supply of water to their cattle. Owing to the depth of the channels below the level of the country, and the consequent difficulty and expense in raising water, they are very sparingly used for irrigation.

Difficulty of irrigation from deep channel.

I have seen at the Kuttehur nuddee, the channel of which is about twenty feet below the level of the adjacent country, twenty men employed in raising water in five lifts, by means of buckets, to each side of which two ropes held each by a man were attached. *(See Note B.)*

Only one beegah, equivalent to two-thirds of an acre, could be irrigated in a day; consequently, at the lowest possible remuneration, the cost of a single watering of an acre would not be less than Rs. 4.

No non-permanent streams of importance south of Ganges.

There are no streams worthy of mention in the portion of the district south of the Ganges.

Absence of nullahs in the lowland formation.

As a general rule, nullahs—that is, ravines—which in the rainy season become torrents, are very common in the upland, and are rare in the lowland country.

In the lowlands, broad and gently sloping depressions, which on the Ganges rising become either channels or creeks of that river, take the place of the narrow, deep, and rugged ravines of the upland, and remove the surface drainage.

These depressions often penetrate the country for very great distances; and they preserve their rounded outlines, because the back-water of the Ganges both prevents currents, and, by depositing silt, annually repairs, on the rise of the river, any cutting and abrasion of the channel which may have resulted from the falls of rain in the first month or two of the rainy season.

Wells.

Wells are of two kinds, 1st, *pukka*, or permanent, built of bricks set either partially or entirely in mortar; 2nd, *kutcha*, or temporary, are merely holes in the ground, excavated after the termination of the rainy season, and destroyed by the rains of the following year.

Cost of permanent wells.

The cost of permanent wells varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500, according to the materials used, the size, depth of water from surface of ground, and style of work. A considerable saving is effected by the use of bricks made in moulds, in the shape of segments of circular belts. Bricks of this kind are much used in Southern Oudh, but not in this district; and even in Oudh the small square bricks are preferred.

Of temporary wells.

The ordinary cost of the temporary well is one rupee four annas, and occasionally more; it never exceeds Rs. 5.

Average distance of the surface of water from surface of ground.

The average distance from the surface of water in wells to the surface of the ground adjacent was, in June, 1869, before rain had fallen, 31 feet 3½ inches.

Measurements were taken at the wells nearest thirty-six police stations, situated at tolerably uniform distances all over the district.

The greatest distance was fifty-nine feet, at Zumaneah; and the least twelve feet, at Gopalnuggur, in Pergunnah Khureed.

Circumstances influencing this distance.

The distance of surface of water from the surface of the earth depends on two circumstances :—

1*st*,—Elevation of the country;

2*nd*,—Proximity of rivers or ravines.

With regard to these conditions, it is to be observed—

1*st*,—That if the country be low, water will always be near the surface; but the *converse proposition*, that where the country is high, water will be distant, *does not hold good.*

2*nd*,—The proximity of a river or ravine always depresses water in wells, except in those rare instances where the level of water in sub-soil is not higher than that of the nearest river.

Illustrations.

As an illustration of the first of these propositions, I may mention that the average distance of water from the surface of ground at Birnoo, Bahadoor Gunge, and Phoolbowree, all in very high upland tracts, at a distance from rivers and ravines, was eighteen feet; while at Bulliah, Beyreah, and Sheopoor Dear, in a lowland tract, liable to submersion by the Ganges, and in the vicinity of the Ganges, it was twenty-eight feet.

The depression in the water of wells, from the proximity of rivers and ravines, is caused by the percolation and consequent drainage of the water accumulated in the sub-soil of the ground; the proximity of lakes, jheels, or tanks, generally raises water in wells.

Distance of surface of water in temporary wells.

The water in the temporary wells is generally within ten or twelve feet of the ground during the season they are used for irrigation. This of course is not a level which could be long maintained; but the wells are excavated and used at a time when the water in the sub-soil is still near the surface, and before it has subsided to what may be considered its permanent level.

Methods of irrigation levers.

Wherever water is near the surface, *dhenklees* or steel yard levers, having a heavy weight attached to the shorter arm, are used for irrigation.

The bucket is depressed by the person irrigating, who is, in depressing it, able to avail himself of the weight of his body; it is elevated by the gravitation of the weights attached to the short arm of the lever.

Pairs of buckets on pullies.

A pair of buckets, connected by a rope running on a *pully*, are occasionally used; the depression of the empty bucket causes the elevation of the full one.

Leathern buckets raised by oxen.

The practice of using human labour is much less common here than in Oudh; and irrigation from wells is principally dependent on the ordinary *mote*, or large leathern bucket, raised by a rope, which, running over a pully, is dragged by a pair of bullocks, who, to give them greater momentum, are driven down an inclined plane. There is an immense waste of power in this method of raising water.

Persian wheels are never used.

The question,—What is extent of irrigation area? with details showing sources of supply.

In the Resolution of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces prescribing the preparation of statistical memoirs for districts, directions are given for the entry in the area table of extent of irrigated land, with details of source of irrigation, as wells, canals, &c.

Why it cannot be answered. The question,—What is irrigated land? is a doubtful one.

I regret to state that in this district the preparation of a reliable statement of this kind cannot be effected; as the question what land is to be considered irrigated is a very doubtful one, and the extent of irrigated land varies considerably from year to year.

Illustrations. Rice in upland.

In the upland tracts, rice is most commonly grown in fields on which, either from natural depression or from the construction of artificial barriers to drainage, the rain-water is collected.

Such fields could hardly be excluded from the category of irrigated lands; and yet the question whether they are in any particular year irrigated, depends to some extent on the whim of the cultivator, and very largely on the rain-fall. Land, which in a season of heavy rain produces rice, in a season of light rain will not raise rice, and may perhaps be used for the production of spring crops.

Well irrigation varies from year to year.

The extent of land irrigated by a permanent well does not vary much from year to year; but the number of temporary wells annually constructed does. When the late rains have been deficient, a considerable extent of land which in ordinary years is not irrigated cannot be sowed without the construction and use of temporary wells.

Extent of land irrigated by the Ganges varies much from year to year.

The main source of irrigation in the district—the Ganges—is most variable in its action. It is obvious that the land which has been submerged for weeks, and only dries in time to be ploughed and sowed with wheat or gram in November, cannot be excluded from the category of irrigated land, unless we are prepared to class Egypt amongst the countries where there is no irrigation.

The actual extent of land so irrigated varies greatly from year to year, according to the amount of rain-fall up country, and the consequent rise in the river.

In some years the average rise of the river may be between thirty and forty feet, and this rise may take place so late as to be of use for the spring crops; in other years it may range from ten to twenty feet, and occur so early in the season as to be practically useless.

Extent of irrigation from tanks and jheels variable.

In seasons in which the district rain-fall has been large, and more especially when the latter rains in September and October have been heavy, an immense area is irrigated from artificial tanks and from natural jheels or lakes.

The spring crops, sown in the end of October and beginning of November, after they have attained the height of a few inches, receive an abundant watering, which secures a full crop, even without the occurrence of the Christmas rains.

The water is invariably raised by baskets, as in the case of irrigation from rivers.

The area irrigated from these sources is liable to the greatest variations in different years. In seasons of unusual drought, the beds of reservoirs, which in ordinary years would remain covered with water till the season was too far advanced to admit of cultivation, are cultivated, and produce rich crops.

Approximate statement.

From these considerations, it will appear that any detailed statement of irrigated area would be useless and misleading; but it may be approximately stated that the irrigated area varies in different years from about a tenth to nearly one-half of the area of the district.

Statement according to the Revenue Survey of 1840 41.

According to the statements prepared in 1840-41, by the officer of the Revenue Survey, there are 459,766 irrigated out of a total area of 1,389,777 acres.

Rain-fall.

The statements of rain-fall in the district prior to 1860-61 are utterly absurd and unreliable, varying from 6 to 69 inches in the years between 1849-50 and 1859-60. Those taken for the last six years, and published in the *Gazette*, are comparatively trustworthy. According to them the annual fall has been as follows:—

	Inches.
For 1862-63	56·8
„ 1863-64	47·6
„ 1864-65	24·2
„ 1865-66	41·0
„ 1866-67	47·0
„ 1867-68	44·6
Average ...	45·22

The rise in the Ganges in 1862 was the greatest ever known. (*See Note C.*)

Magnetic variation.

The magnet in the Benares District has easterly variation, amounting to 1°50′·3, which makes the apparent solar time, ascertained by a dial fixed by a compass, 16 minutes 21 seconds slower than true solar time at noon. The Ghazeepoor variation is not exactly known, but is probably nearly the same as at Benares (7).

Temperature—mean annual.

Mean monthly.

According to the meteorological chart of Hermann de Schlagintweit, which is not very reliable, the mean annual temperature is 80°, and the mean monthly temperature ranges between 63° 6′ and 93° 7′.

(7). Letter from Surveyor-General.—The error in time in a universal sun-dial, or other dial fixed by a magnetic compass, varies through the day, and is greatest at noon. If l be the latitude, and h the hour (one hour being equal to 15°) the formula showing error is for a variation of 1° 50′·3, equal to

$$1 - \frac{\cos. 2l \sin h}{\sin l} \times 7'21''$$ (on the authority of Archdeacon Pratt.)

A register of meteorological observations is kept up at the Ghazeepoor Opium Factory. According to this register, the monthly average of the thermometer in the shade during the year 1869, at 10 A. M., 4 P. M., is shown in the following table:—

Average Temperature.

	10 A. M. Degrees.	4 P. M. Degrees.
January	61·03	69·97
February	68·43	78·51
March	77·3	86·7
April	91·32	99·88
May	98·64	104·10
June	95·42	98·38
July	87·12	89·71
August	87·79	90·42
September	86·23	87·39
October	80·45	84·79
November	70·77	77·10
December	62·60	71·56
Average annual temperature ...	80·56	86·49

General description of climate.

The rains in Ghazeepoor generally break up in the middle of October. After their close, westerly winds prevail, and the temperature gradually falls. About the time of the winter solstice easterly winds set in, lasting sometimes for a few days, and sometimes a month; when the wind again changes to the west or north, there is generally a slight fall of rain. In some years a heavy mist, called *kohasa*, takes the place of the winter rains. The mist comes on during the night, and lasts occasionally as late as noon. The winter rains or mists, if not too protracted, are very beneficial to the crops; but if clouds continue for more than a week or two, the most injurious results are produced, and the spring grain crops are destroyed by smut (*girwee*) and rust (*hurda*).

In January or February the westerly winds again set in, and prevail up to the middle of May. From the middle of February up to the middle of March, the district is liable to hailstorms, most destructive, but generally affecting a very limited area. In some of these storms the leaves and smaller branches of trees are stripped off; the strongest crops—as sugar-cane, castor-oil trees, and *urhur*—beaten down to the ground; birds and reptiles killed; and animals and men frequently severely wounded. The tiles on every house are shattered to fragments, and the villages and fields around them present a scene of the most utter devastation and ruin.

I have, in February, 1868, seen hailstones which, on the third day after their fall, weighed a quarter of an ounce, and were the size of a pigeon's egg. In a storm mentioned in "Duncan's Records," and seen by Lieutenant Wilford in 1792, coagulated masses of ice eight inches long fell mingled with the hail in the Mahomedabad Pergunnah.

About the middle of May the wind takes an easterly direction, and the heat becomes almost unendurable. The thermometer in the shade reaches the temperature of 110°; and, owing to the dampness of the air, tatties or other expedients for lowering the temperature by evaporation are of no avail. After a month or more of this oppressive weather, a climax is reached;—the atmosphere seems to be of molten fire:

breathing becomes difficult; in a day or two a black cloud appears in the north-west; a few seconds suffice to fill the air with dust, and to turn day into night: then down comes the first burst of the rains, and in twenty minutes the thermometer falls as many degrees.

During the rains there are in Ghazeepoor fewer of the calm oppressive stifling days than in districts further west. For days, and even weeks, together a strong easterly wind with little rain blows like a trade-wind night and day.

A fortnight after this atmospheric current, charged with aqueous vapour, has passed Ghazeepoor, the swollen Ganges tells that in the mountains, and in the western districts, the vapour has been condensed, and fallen in abundant showers.

In the present year (1869), the termination of the rainy season occurred on the same day all over the North-West Provinces; but generally the rains end somewhat later in Ghazeepoor than in the north-west districts; and, as a rule, rain does not fall at the same time in Ghazeepoor and in the Doab. The reason of this is obvious: if the aqueous vapour is wrung from the atmosphere here, it does not reach the western districts; while during the rushing easterly winds, which supply the west with rain, little condensation of vapour takes place in the Ghazeepoor District.

Health.

Ghazeepoor, when occupied by European troops, suffered occasionally from severe epidemics of cholera; and the situation of the barracks being near a malarious swamp, the place acquired a bad name for unhealthiness. The European station is nevertheless, although the climate is relaxing, decidedly healthy, and the mortality in the jail rarely exceeds one per cent. per annum. Epidemics of cholera occur almost every year; and amongst natives the Ghazeepoor climate is considered inferior to that of the adjacent districts on the north and west.

Note A.—The predominant salt in the reh of this district is the carbonate of soda.

This is prepared from it in large quantities in an impure form, called sujjee, and exported to the east. During the government of the Rajahs of Benares, the manufacture of sujjee was a monopoly. Saltpetre (the nitrate of potash) is manufactured to a large extent all over the upland formations of the district.

Common salt (chloride of sodium) is found, and was formerly manufactured, in some villages to the north-west of the city of Ghazeepoor, in the pergunnahs of Ghazeepoor, Sydpoor, Buhuriabad, and Shadeeabad. There is still occasionally some illicit manufacture of edible salt.

Note B.—The method of raising water by baskets from tanks, jheels, and rivers, is as follows:—A small channel called a *buha* is dug from the water-supply, a few inches wide, and never more than about three feet deep. Through this channel the water flows to a small excavated reservoir called an *unnooah*, some three or four feet below the level of the ground.

Two or three feet above the level of the ground, and four or five feet above level of water in the *unnooah*, there is an elevated water receptacle called a *bodur*, immediately above the *unnooah*.

Four labourers employed in raising the water, stand two at each side of the *unhooah*. Between them they hold by ropes about five feet long a shallow open bamboo basket, called *dowree*.

They dip the *dowree* into the *unnooah*, partially fill it with water, which they throw with a swing of the ropes and a jerk into the *bodur*.

Thence it flows through a channel called *naree*, similar to the *buha*, into the field which has to be irrigated, or into a second *unnooah*. The difference of the level of the

water in the *unnooah* and *bodur* rarely exceeds five feet; so, to raise water 25 feet, five lifts, with four labourers at each lift, are required.

The quantity thrown at each dip of the *dowree*, varies according to the strength of the labourers and the height of the *unnooah*, but is generally about two gallons.

In the Doab the basket is called a *beree*, and is made of larger size than the *dowrees* in use here.

Note C.—The fact that parts of the recently formed alluvial lowland tracts of the Gazeepoor District are now never submerged, proves that the annual rise of the Ganges and Ghogra is now not so great as formerly. It is probable that the extensive clearing of forests, which has gone on for hundreds of years past, has diminished the annual rain-fall, and the floods in the rivers of Hindostan caused by the annual rains.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANTIQUITIES AND ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE GHAZEEPOOR DISTRICT.

Obscure interval in the History of the District between Gupta and Mahomedan period.

In the history of the Ghazeepoor District there is an obscure interval of about seven hundred years, from the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty, in the beginning of the 7th century of the Christian Era, up to the Mahomedan conquest of the district in the fourteenth century.

No traditions have survived from the first of these epochs to the second.

Religion and written character changed.

The Buddhist religion, the prevailing one in the Gupta age, had disappeared before the advent of the Mahomedans. The language of the later may not widely have differed from that of the earlier age, but the characters used in writing had completely changed, so that the inscriptions of the Gupta Kings conveyed no knowledge to the Hindoos who held the country when the Mahomedans conquered it.

During this dark age the aboriginal tribes became masters of the country.

A period of little enlightenment, if not of complete barbarism, followed the extinction of the Buddhist religion, during which it would appear that the aboriginal tribes to a great extent regained possession of the lands held by their Aryan conquerors.

Rajpoot and Brahmin colonization.

At or near the time of the Mahomedan conquest of Northern India, numbers of Rajpoot and Brahmin colonists from the north and west entered the district, bringing with them the traditions of their homes, but knowing nothing of the story of the land of their adoption.

Present landowners, descendants of the colonists, know nothing of the ancient remains of the district.

The descendants of these colonists are now the landowners of the district, and they regard the remains of antiquity scattered over the country with ignorant and incurious wonder.

In most cases they are content to say that such remains are the works of the Seoree or Bhur Rajahs, from whom their ancestors took the country. Sometimes, to account for the existence of a more remarkable ruin, they invent a clumsy myth, and attribute it to one of the Rishees of ancient legend, or to one of the heroes of the Mahabharat.

Deductive or inductive method may be adopted.

In the endeavour to span this dark void, and to relate all that can be ascertained of the history of the district in the days when Buddhism still existed in India, either the deductive or the inductive method may be adopted.

Inductive method, why preferred.

The deductive method is more clear and intelligible, but it requires a knowledge more complete than we possess, and in employing it there is a danger of stating, as established facts, what are only guesses at truth, which increasing knowledge may some day prove to be erroneous.

Plan proposed.

I therefore propose to adopt the inductive method; to describe the ruins which have been found in the district; to give the translation of a most important inscription; to notice briefly the coins which have been discovered, and to adduce reasons for concluding that some of the ruins in the district are those of cities, monasteries, and temples described by the great Chinese traveller of the seventh century, Hiouen Thsang; and, finally, to narrate, on his authority, and

from other sources, all that can be ascertained at present as to the state and history of the district from the time of the great King Asoka to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty.

Chief ruins of the district.

The most important remains in the Ghazeepoor District are at Bhitree, and the adjacent town of Sydpoor, which is situated on the north of the Ganges near its junction with the Goomtee.

The Bhitree Ruins,—General Cunningham's Researches.

The Bhitree Ruins were visited by General (then Lieutenant) Cunningham in 1836, and a copy taken of an inscription in the Gupta character on a remarkable column standing there. A translation of this inscription by the distinguished Sanscrit scholar, Dr. Mill, was given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for January, 1837. In 1862, General Cunningham again visited Bhitree, and published an account of his visit in the Journal of the Asiatic Society (supplementary number for 1863).

Messrs. Sherring and Horne.

In 1863 and 1864, Sydpoor and Bhitree were visited by the Reverend M. A. Sherring and C. Horne, Esq., C.S., and an account of their visit was read before the Asiatic Society.

Dr. Mill's translation of the Bhitree inscription.

The following is Dr. Mill's translation of the Bhitree inscription, and an extract from his remarks upon it.

INSCRIPTION ON THE BHITREE LATH.

(1) "Of the liberator of the greatest kings, incomparable on the earth—by whom loads of forest timber are collected for the holocaustic service of Indra, Varuna, and Yama, by the completion of sacrifices bearing the flavour of the waters of all the four circumambient oceans—whose glory reaches to the firmament—who on every side bestows liberally as the golden-sided mountain (Meru)—by whom Meru himself might be borne aloft in the piercing talons of his mighty arm—the great-grandson of the great King Gupta—grandson of the great King Ghatotkacha—son of the great King, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-Gupta—maternal grandson of Licchavi—born of the great goddess-like Cumara-Dévi—the great King, the sovereign of kings, Samudra Gupta, of him, when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of Dévi, daughter of Mahá Daitya, the incomparable worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat (Crishna), the great King, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-Gupta, then his son, before addicted to illiberality and a man of great parsimony, was purified by the waters of destiny. Such was the excellent blessedness of the worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat, the great King, the sovereign of kings, Cumará-Gupta, celebrated for his mildness of disposition, and of subdued passions united to accumulated fame,—a blessedness pervading even the forests and desert lands."

VERSE.

"Having well surmounted the calamities that oppressed the earth, the chief and unique hero of the Gupta race, of face like a lotus, displays the glory of conquest: even he, by name Scanda-Gupta, of distinguished and spotless renown, who in the spirit of his own dreadful deeds danced in the fierce dance (Siva-like after his vengeance for Sita's death).

"Possessed of a clear insight into the profound wisdom of the Tantras, with a spirit of unceasing silence (on their incommunicable mysteries, and in accordance with their precepts and discipline) mangling the flesh of the refractory in successive victories, he by whom their challenge to battle being accepted and answered, forms a splendid spectacle in every quarter of the earth, is declared even by alien princes to be one whose mind could not be shaken by sudden and unexpected calamity. For afterwards by him to whom the keeping of his treasure was committed, the boundary which was given a sacred deposit, and worthy to be extended to the

(1) See page 5, Journal of the Asiatic Society, No. 61, January, 1837.

extremities of the earth, was treacherously taken away, and the prosperity of the family removed from it (even by him the minister aforesaid) coveting the wealth of that family, having previously professed much attachment in words, but destitute of the light (of truth), and followed by calamitous defection.

" Yet (having conquered) the land, his left foot was fixed there on a throne yet untrodden by mortals; and, having obtained excellent room, and laid by his weapons, he reposed from war on his (inaccessible) mountain. His pure and noble exploits, the exploits of a man of unspotted fame, although long opposed by the kings of the excellent seven hills, are now sung even by them.

" In every region did men surround that young prince, when his father had gone to heaven, as one who had attained most illustrious prosperity, whom his father's brother and the other chiefs did first (thus surround hailing him) as their new sovereign, in the midst of the joy of conquest, with tears in their eyes.

" May he who is like Crishna, still obeying his mother Dèvaki after his foes are vanquished, he of golden rays, with mercy protect this my design.

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

" Whatever prince in this place perpetually worships this sacred image is considered by Rudra (Siva) himself as one whose understanding is ennobled and rendered praiseworthy by this affectionate devotion, even in the land of Arha (Indra) and the other celestials."

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE INSCRIPTION.

Dr. Mill's remarks on the Bhitree inscription.

" The parentage of Samundra-Gupta, son of Chundra-Gupta, which closed the Allahabad inscription, forms in nearly the same words the beginning of the present; and his panegyric which pervaded the earlier monument is the leading subject in the prose part of this. The first new fact is the designation of his son and successor, Chundra-Gupta the Second, whom it seemed most obvious on the first reading of the names to identify with the expected son and heir of the 18th line of the pillar of Allahabad, the offspring of Samundra-Gupta and his principal queen, the daughter of the proud Princess Sanharica (2). This identification, however, is removed by the terms of the inscription itself: this son does not succeed by right of primogeniture, but as peculiarly selected *(parigrihita)* on account of his eminent virtues from the rest of the family or families of the polygamist king, and is the offspring, not of the Sanharica's daughter, but of the daughter of a prince named Mahadaitya. The son and successor of Chundra-Gupta II. is Cumara-Gupta, who is represented as having been a very unprincely character at the time of his father's adoption as heir to the throne; but having been disciplined by some unnamed fortune, becomes, on his own accession to the throne, an emulator of the mild virtues and the *Vaishnava* devotion of his parent. The next king is Scanda-Gupta, who may be most probably supposed to be the son of his immediate predecessor, Cumara-Gupta; but on this point the verse, which here takes the place of the more narrative prose, is unfortunately silent. We only hear of his distinguished fame as a warrior: and that his piety, congenial with his acts, does not take the same turn with that of his two nearest predecessors of devotions to Vishnu the Preserver, but attached itself to the opposite system now so prevalent in this part of India, the deep, mysterious, and sanguinary system of the Tantras. After the conquest and slaughter of many opposing kings, we hear of his eventual triumph over a more formidable enemy than all, a treacherous minister, who for a time succeeds in dispossessing him of his kingdom. After vanquishing, however, the rival monarchs of the seven hills, and resting peacefully on his laurels in his inaccessible mountain-

(2) *See* Extract from James Prinsep's R marks on the Gupta Coins given later in the chapter.

throne (localities which carry us away from the immediate vicinity of the Ganges, but whether towards the North or Central India we have no means of determining), this worthy worshipper of Siva and Durga ascends to heaven; and his brother, and the other chiefs, with mingled feelings of grief and affectionate allegiance, proclaim his young child the heir to his father's crown and conquests. This youth is described as obedient to the queen-dowager his mother, as was Crishna to his mother Dévakí; but the part of the inscription that proceeds to speak of him is confused and unintelligible; neither does he appear to be once named, unless we conceive some letters of line 18 to give his name thus:—

'Manosa Prita-Gupta (the Gupta attached to Siva, or beloved by Siva).'

"He is probably the Mahendra-Gupta, whose name occurs in several of the newly-discovered coins of this dynasty. The royal family of the Guptas, therefore, as adapted to the time of this inscription, stands as follows,—the Arabic numerals denoting sovereigns, or those to whom the prefix *Maharajah Adhirajah* belongs,—in the order of their succession:—

"Gupta, a Rajah of the Solar Line.

Licchavi

"Ghatot Kacha, ditto ditto whose daughter was—

"1. Chandra-Gupta I. Cumara Devi, Queen-consort, Maha-Daitya, whose daughter was—

"2. Samudra-Gupta. Devi. one of the Queens of Samudra-Gupta.

"3. Chandra-Gupta II.

"4. Cumara-Gupta, whose *son* probably was—

"5. Scanda-Gupta.

"6. A young prince (Mahendra-Gupta?) a minor at the date of this inscription.

"One remarkable fact learnt solely from this inscription is the prevalence, at the time of the Gupta dynasty, of the two opposite sectarian forms of later Hindoo worship—that of the exclusive devotees of Vishnu on the one hand, whose favourite authority is the celebrated poem (probably inserted among the Puranas by the comparatively recent grammarian Vopedeva) called the Srimad Bhagavata, and that of the worshippers of Siva and his female energies on the other, whose text-books are those singular compounds of cabalistic mystery, licentiousness and blood, the Agamas or Tantras. The princes Chandra-Gupta and Cumara-Gupta are expressly commemorated as belonging to the former class, and Scanda-Gupta as an adherent of the latter. And here I must recall an observation that I hazarded when commenting on the Allahabad inscription, (J) A. S., Vol. III., page 268,) that the worship of he Saktis, with its existing mysteries and orgies, was most probably unknown in

INSCRIPTION on the BHITREE LATH or PILLAR.

India at the date of that monument. The terms in which that species of devotion is spoken of about a century after, in the second of the metrical stanzas in the present Bhitree inscription, shows that the same system was even then dominant, and sufficiently powerful and seducing to enlist kings among its votaries. And while this (if I am correct in supposing the age of the Gupta dynasty to be somewhere between the 1st and 9th centuries of our era) may be among the earliest authentic notices of that mode of worshipping Bhairava and Cali,—the mention of it at all furnishes an additional proof to my mind of the impossibility of referring these monuments to the earlier age of Chandra-Gupta-Maurya, or that of Alexander the Great, and the century immediately following.

"A far more plausible hypothesis is the identification of this Gupta dynasty with that which is mentioned in the prophetico-historical part of the Vishnu Purana (Book IV., Chapter 24,) as arising in this precise tract of country, contemporaneously with other dynasties in different parts of India, during the turbulent period that followed the extinction of the last race of Indian sovereigns that reigned in Magadha, and the irruption of Sacæ and other foreign tribes from the north-west (3). The dominions of the Guptas is there said to include the great city of Prayaga on the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, where their principal monument is now found, as well as the yet more sacred city of Mathura, on the latter river, and the less-known names of Padmavati and Kantipuri (probably near the site of our present Cawnpore); it is also described as extending down the Ganges to Magadha, or Behar, where one Visva-Sphatika (or Visva-Sphurji, of the old race of Magadha sovereigns) had extirpated the existing race of Xattriyas, and set up other low castes together with Brahmans in their stead, as I read in two manuscript copies of the Vishnu-Purana:—

"'In the country of Magadha, one named Visva-Sphatika shall form and set up in the kingdom other castes, Kaivarttas, Yadus, Pulindas, and Brahmans: and thus having abolished all the races of Xattriyas, shall the nine Nagas, and in Padmavati, Kantipuri, Mathura, and on the Ganges from Prayaga, shall the Magadhas and the Guptas rule over the people belonging to Magadha.'"

THE BHITREE REMAINS.

General Cunningham's account of his visit to Bhitree in 1862 A. D.

I now proceed to give an extract from General Cunningham's account of his visit to Bhitree in 1862 A. D. (4)

(219.) "The remains at Bhitree consist of several ruined brick mounds, an inscribed stone pillar, and a few pieces of sculptures. Some of the mounds appear to be mere heaps of broken stone and brick, the gatherings from the fields after each season's ploughing. The larger mounds, which run parallel to each other from the bridge towards the village, seem to me to be only the ruins of houses that once formed the two sides of a street. The remaining mounds, which are of square form and isolated, are at present covered with Musalman tombs; but I have little doubt that all of them were originally either temples or other Hindoo buildings. That one of these mounds belonged originally to the Hindoos we have an undoubted proof in the existence of the inscribed stone pillar, which stands partially buried in the rubbish of its eastern slope, and in the discovery at the foot of the pillar of an old brick inscribed with the name of Sri-Kumara-Gupta. The early occupation of the place by the Hindoos is further proved by the discovery of several Hindoo statues and *lingams* in the rubbish above the mounds, and by the finding of numerous bricks inscribed with Kumara-Gupta's name in the fields. I

(3) It is proved from the account of his visit to Magadha given by Hiouen Thsang, that the Gupta kings were themselves sovereigns of Magadha; but this extract from the Vishnu Purana is interesting, as it confirms a conclusion which may be arrived at from the travels of Hiouen Thsang, and from the traditions of the tribes now occupying the Ghazeepoor District, that after the subversion of the Gupta dynasty there were Brahmins, but no Chuttries, in this part of the country.

(4) See page 91, paragraph 219, Archæological Survey Report (an extra volume of the Asiatic Society's Journal).

obtained further proof of the same by the purchase on the spot of three Indo-Sassanian coins of base silver, which probably date the 8th or 9th century, and of one small round copper coin with an elephant on the obverse, and a peculiar symbol, supposed to be a chaitya, on the reverse, which cannot, in my opinion, be of later date than the invasion of Alexander the Great. The Bhitree pillar is a single block of reddish sandstone, apparently from one of the Chunar quarries. The shaft of the pillar is circular, with a diameter of 2 feet 4¼ inches, and a height of 15 feet 5 inches.* The base is square, but its height is rather uncertain. The upper portion, on which the inscription is cut, has been smoothed, but the lower portion, as far as my excavation went, still bears the marks of the chisel, although not very deep. My excavation was carried down to the level of the adjoining fields, a depth of 6 feet 9 inches below the top of the base, without finding any trace of a pedestal; and as it is most probable that the inscription was placed on a level with the eye, I would fix the height of the original base at about 6 feet, thus giving an elevation of only 9 inches above the level of the country. The capital is 3 feet 2 inches in height, bell-shaped, and reeded like the capitals of Asoka pillars. A large portion of the capital is broken off on the western side, thus exposing a deep narrow socket, which could only have held a metal spike. The upper portion of the shaft also is split to a depth of about two feet. The people say that the pillar was struck by lightning many years ago. It certainly was in the same state when I first saw it in January, 1836, and I know of only one reason to make me doubt the accuracy of the people's statements,—namely, that both the iron pillar at Delhi and the stone pillar at Navandgurh Lauriya have been wantonly injured by cannon shot. If the capital of the Bhitree pillar had been surmounted by a statue of any kind, as it most probably was when the Mohomedans first settled there, I think that the breaking of the capital may be attributed to their destructive bigotry with quite as much probability as to lightning. I found a portion of the broken capital in my excavation of the foot of the pillar.

"The inscription, which is cut on the eastern side of the base, consists of nineteen lines of well-shaped characters of the early Gupta period. Unfortunately this face is much weather-worn, and the stone has also peeled off in several places, so that the inscription is now in even a worse condition than when I first saw it in January, 1836. The copy which I then made by eye I compared letter by letter with the original inscription on the spot, and although I found several errors in different parts of the inscription, yet the only serious one is an omission of five letters in the 15th line. I made also an impression of the inscription, over which I pencilled all the letters as they appeared to the eye. This is indeed the only successful method of copying a weather-worn inscription, for the edges of the letters being very much rounded, an impression gives only a number of confused and shapeless spots, although many of the letters being deeply cut are distinctly legible, and may easily be copied by the eye. The value of an impression thus pencilled over is very great, as it ensures accuracy in the number of letters, and thus most effectually prevents all errors, both of insertion and omission. The copy which I have thus made is, I believe, as perfect as it is possible to obtain now, considering the weather-worn state of the letters.

(222). "From the copy which I prepared in January, 1836, a translation was made by Dr. Mill, which was published in Prinsep's Journal for January, 1837. My re-examination of the inscription has corrected some of Dr. Mill's proposed readings, while it has confirmed many of them, a few being still doubtful, owing to the abraded state of the letters. As translated by Dr. Mill, the inscription refers chiefly to the reign of Scanda-Gupta, closing with his death and the accession of his infant son. The object of the inscription was to record the erection of a sacred

* In General Cunningham's drawing of the Bhitree Lath, he makes the length of the shaft of the pillar 16 feet 4¼ inches (*See* Plate XXXI., Vol. V., Asiatic Society's Journal for 1836).

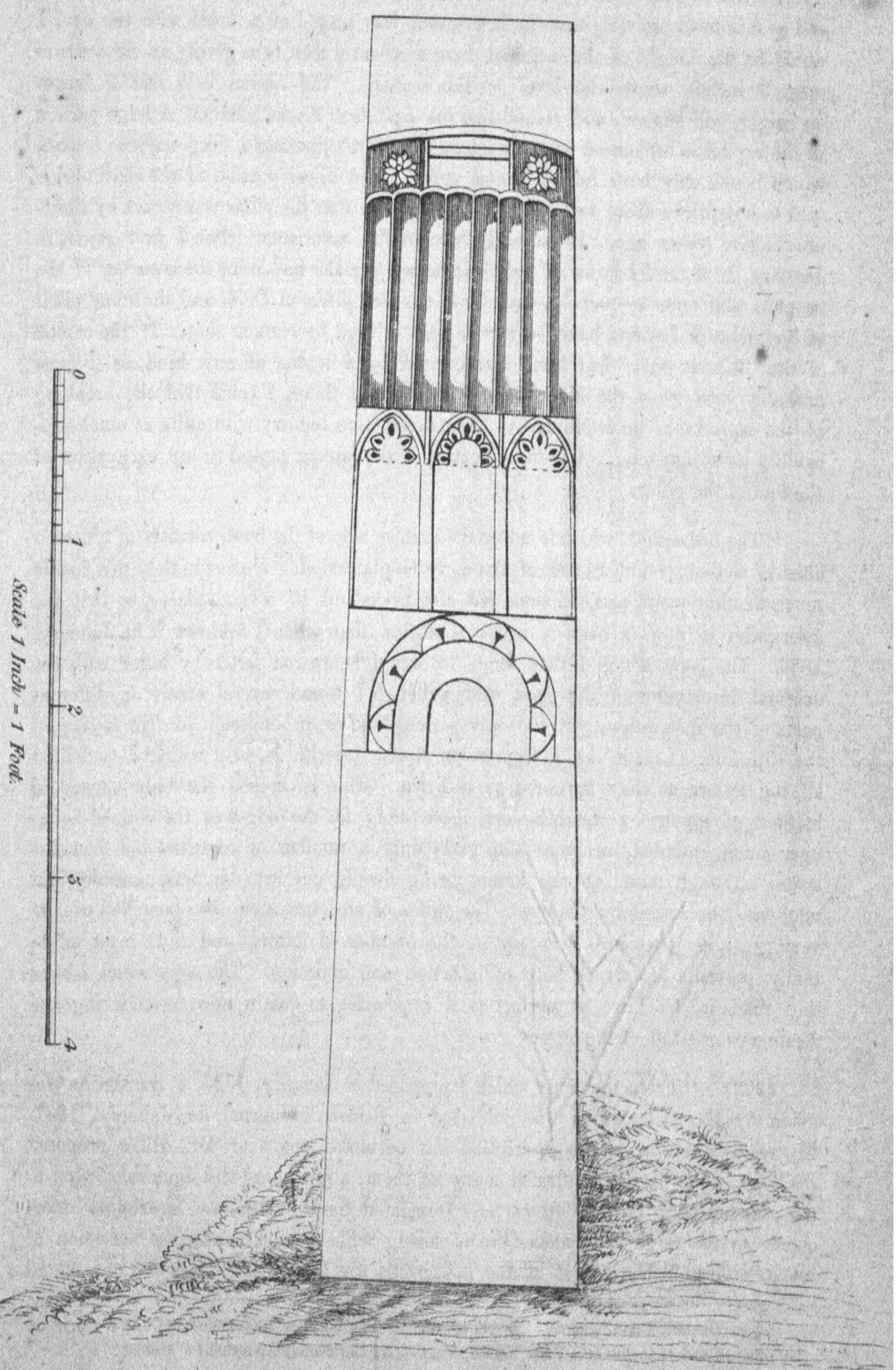
PILLAR ON THE GROUND

near

NORTHERN MOSQUE

OF

BHITREE.



N.B.–There are several pillars of the kind scattered about.

image, the name of which Dr. Mill was unable to read, but which may possibly be recovered when my new copy is retranslated by some competent scholar. In my remarks on the lower inscription on the Behar pillar, I have already noticed that all the remaining part of the upper portion of it, which contains the genealogy, is letter for letter identical with the first of the Bhitree record, and I repeat the notice here for the purpose of adding that by a comparison of the two inscriptions every letter of the upper part of both, or about one-third of the whole, may be restored without chance of error (5).

"The sculptures now to be seen at Bhitree are very few, but they are sufficient to show the former existence of several large stone temples. In the village there is a colossal figure of Ganesa and a broken bas-relief of the Navagraha, or "Nine Planets." The colossal statue must almost certainly have been the principal figure enshrined in a temple dedicated to Ganesa. There is also a large slab with a half-size two-armed female figure, attended by another female figure holding an umbrella over her, both in very high relief. The figures in this sculpture are in the same style and in the same attitudes as those of the similar group of the Raja and his umbrella attendants on the gold coins of the Gupta princes. This sculpture, I believe, represents a queen on her way to worship at the temple. The group is a favourite one with Hindoo artists, and, as far as my observation goes, it is never used singly, but always in pairs, one on each side of the doorway of a temple. The age of this sculpture I am inclined to fix as early as the time of Gupta kings, partly on account of the similarity of style to that of their gold coins, partly also because the pillar belongs to one of that family, but chiefly because the bricks found in various parts of the ruins are stamped with the name of Sri-Kumara-Gupta.

"If I am right in attributing the sculptures to the time of the Gupta dynasty, or from A. D. 100 to 300 (6), then the Bhitree ruins will be amongst the oldest Brahmanical remains now known to us. For this reason alone I would strongly advocate the excavation of all the insulated mounds, and more particularly of the pillar mound, in which we might expect to find not only all the fragments of the original capital, but also many sculptures and other objects belonging to the temple in front of which the pillar was erected. I have already stated that the bridge over the Gangee river is built entirely of stones taken from the ancient buildings of Bhitree. Many of these stones are squared and ornamented with flowers and various mouldings, and on one of them I observed the syllable VI.

"This is a mere mason's mark; but, as the shape of the letter is the same as that of the Gupta Alphabet, the discovery of this single character tends strongly to confirm the accuracy of the date which I have already assigned to the Bhitree ruins on other grounds."

Sydpoor Remains.

Reverend M A Sherring's account of his visit to Sydpoor in 1863.

I now proceed to give an interesting extract from the Reverend M. A. Sherring's and Mr. C. Horne's account of their discovery of ancient remains in the vicinity of Sydpoor.

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(5) This opinion of General Cunningham, as to the identity of the Behar and Bhitree inscriptions, according to Baboo Rajendra Lall Mittra, who has minutely examined and transcribed the Behar Pillar inscription, is not correct.

Baboo Rajendra Lall Mittra's conclusion is that "the two documents were put up by the same race, and very likely by the same king, but on different occasions, and to record different occurrences."

"There is nothing in the record to justify the positive opinion of General Cunningham that it belongs to Skanda-Gupta, son of Kumara-Gupta."

(See Notes on Gupta Inscriptions from Aphsar and Behar, by Baboo Rajendra Lall Mittra.)

(6) General Cunningham, in the chapter on the Chronology of the Gupta Kings, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, mentions the beginning of the 4th century for the commencement, and the beginning of the 7th century for the termination, of the Gupta Period. The figures in the text are perhaps misprints.

Sydpoor. "This is a flourishing town of ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Hindoo traders, many of whom, judging from the multitude of well-made houses adorning the streets, are living in comfort, if not in affluence. Two large Hindoo temples have been recently erected in the town, which, together with the Tahsili School, are situated on the left bank of the Ganges. Passing down the main street to its extremity and thence diverging to the right, you immediately come upon the outer wall of an enclosure, on entering which you observe three separate buildings appropriated by the Mahomedans for sacred purposes. One of these is a modern structure; the remaining two are of undoubted antiquity. These latter we shall proceed to describe. The first is a domed building sustained by four stone pillars, the bases of which rest on a platform twelve feet square, raised a few inches above the ground. The shafts of the pillars are square, and the capitals are cruciform, each limb being one foot ten inches in length, and having the usual Buddhist bell ornamentation. The pillars on the north and east quarters exhibit a groove about 15 inches in height, which evidently once contained a pierced stone railing. The eave-stones above are probably original, and have a projection of 15 inches. These eaves are strikingly characteristic of the architecture of the early period to which this building must be assigned, and are often of great size and solidity. In ancient Buddhist structures, both in Benares and in Jounpoor, as well as in this instance, they are cut on the upper surface to resemble wood work. Some persons will be reminded by this circumstance of Akber's stone roof at Futtehpoor Sikri, cut in imitation of tiles, and of the carved beams in the caves at Elephanta.

"The second building is 26½ feet long by 23 broad, and is upheld by at least 34 columns, disposed in the following remarkable order,—namely, six at each of the north-east and south-east corners, nine couples at intervals in the circumference, and four single pillars in the centre, forming a square. The two clusters of six pillars have been united by stone slabs into two thick ones, each 2½ feet square. This curious amalgamation is in all probability the work of the Mahomedans, though from what motive it is hard to conjecture. The building was already strongly supported, and the alteration considerably detracts from its native simplicity. The space between the side pillars is 5 feet 9 inches, between the side and centre pillars, 6 feet 4 inches, and between the centre pillars themselves 5 feet 1 inch. The height of each column is 6 feet 11 inches, of which the base is 9 inches, the shaft 4 feet 8 inches, the stone upon it 10 inches, and the capital 1 foot 8 inches. The innermost line of columns is built into a wall of solid masonry composed of ancient stones, and is of a more recent date than other parts of the edifice. The roof is of long stone slabs, but in its centre there is a primitive Buddhist ceiling, consisting of four stones placed diagonally upon the architraves and crowned by a flat stone ornamented with a lotus blossom. Each corner-stone also exhibits this flower in relief. The existence of the original eave-stone on portions of three sides of this structure is sufficient proof that it could not have been any larger than it is at present; but the great strength of the supports above alluded to would appear to indicate that it once possessed a second, or even a third storey. Upon the roof is a diminutive chamber of comparatively modern construction sustained by four ancient pillars. The shafts are octagonal, and the capitals and rounded bases are richly carved with the bell and leaf pattern. These pillars have been doubtless taken from old buildings which were formerly situated in this neighbourhood.

"We are of opinion that these two edifices were separate chatyias, attached to a vihar or monastery, traces of which, owing to the short time at our disposal, we did not attempt to discover.

"The preservation of these interesting remains is to be attributed to the circumstance of a Mahomedan faqir, named Sheikh Samman, having taken up his abode in one of them, and having been buried in it after his death. The second chatyia

contains the tomb of Mukhdoom Shah. It would be worth the while for anyone having time at his disposal to explore thoroughly this locality, which abounds with Mahomedan tombs, some of which, it may reasonably be supposed, have been constructed with stones taken from the usual Musalman quarries of Hindu and Buddhist remains."

Revd. M. A. Sherring's visit to Sydpoor in 1864.

"Since the above paper was written, I have paid another visit to Sydpoor. On this occasion, I examined the country to the west of the town, which I had not done previously. About three-quarters of a mile from Sydpoor on the high road, is the small village of Zahurgunge, between which and the river is a mound regarded by the people as the remains of an old fort. Bricks are cropping out of its sides, and for some distance along the banks of the river round to the main road beyond the village the soil is strewn with broken bricks, showing that formerly buildings of this material were standing here. To the north of the road, but almost close to it, is a mound called Ram Tawakku, rising abruptly from the plain, on which are also numerous fragments of broken brick. To the north, about a mile from the public road, is an immense terrace raised from 30 to 40 feet high above the surrounding country. Its length is 420 paces, and its breadth is 190 (7). The terrace is thickly covered with broken brick, and at one corner there are likewise fragments of stone. This enormous mound is of an irregular shape. There is little doubt that extensive buildings lie buried here which, judging from the quantity of brick-rubbish found above, are for the most part probably of this material. The people say that the habitations formerly situated on this spot fell in; hence, in their estimation, the origin of the mound. Close by are two other tumuli, and further off are apparently others. Were these mounds, especially the largest, to be excavated, I feel satisfied that the result would amply repay the labour and expense bestowed on the undertaking.

"About half a mile beyond Zahurgunge, a few steps from the road, is a stone chabootra or platform, on which are two figures, one representing the Boar Incarnation, and the other Krishna with his milkmaids. Both are old, and in excellent preservation. The ornamentation of the stone representing the former figure is curious. The carvings exhibit a pilaster in bas-relief, exceedingly similar in detail to the shrine pillars of Bakaryakund, Benares, which, strange to say, are undoubtedly of Buddhist origin, while the pilaster belonging to an incarnation of Vishnu is of Hindoo origin. Around the base of a tree standing a few steps off is an assemblage of mutilated sculptures of ancient date. They are not worshipped by the Hindoos. I brought away several heads, and the fragment of a seated figure with a short inscription in front."

Some further remarks on the Bhitree remains.

Lying on the ground in the vicinity of Bhitree are several monolith pillars, from six to eight feet long. These pillars exactly resemble some of the rock pillars in the caves of Ajunta, in Western India. The lowest part of the pillar and the capital are square; below the capital there is a circular ring, and below that a portion of the pillar has 16 sides; and intermediate between this and the base another portion is of an octagonal shape, as in the accompanying illustration. Several of the old stones worked up by the Mahomedans in the Bhitree Bridge over the Gangee Nuddee are curiously carved.

The Puhladpoor Lath.

Monolith pillar of Puhladpore, Pergunnah Mahaitch, now at Queen's College, Benares.

A monolith pillar of red sandstone, without a capital, about 30 feet high and 2 feet thick, found at Puhladpoor, in the Muhaitch Pergunnah, near the Ganges, about six miles west of Zumaneah, was removed by order of Mr. Thomason, when Lieutenant-Governor, and erected at the Government College of Benares. It bears upon it a short Sanscrit inscription in the Gupta character, of which the following

(7) This terrace described by Mr. Sherring is called Mussown Kote.

account was given by Baboo Siva Pershad, of Benares, in a letter to the *Pundit*, a journal published at Benares.

"I beg to send herewith a fac-simile of an inscription reduced in size, with its transliteration in Devanagri characters. The pillar which bears this inscription was brought up from Ghazeepoor District in the time of the late Mr. Thomason (Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces), and erected north of the Benares College building. It is by rough measurement 24 cubits high, and is estimated to be 900 maunds in weight. For the letters obliterated in the inscription blank circles are left in the fac-simile, but the late Hira Nand Chowbee, Pundit of the College, fills them up thus:—

Baboo Siva Pershad's account of the inscription on the Puhladpoor column.

विपुलविजयकीर्त्तिः क्षत्रसद्धर्म्मपालः । सतसदयितपार्त्थः पार्थिवानीकपालः ॥
विनिहितपितृनाकश्शस्तसामन्तपालः । विहित इव विधात्रोपक्रमाद्धर्म्मपालः ॥

(TRANSLITERATION).

"'One who is famous for his conquests, who protects the good laws of the Kshatriyas, who is always kind to the kings (or who is always a beloved king), who protects the hosts of kings, who has placed his ancestors in the heavens (or who has supported his ancestors and heavens), and who protects his good neighbours, such a king Providence created Dharmapala (8) even from the beginning.'

"Below are mentioned four names; 1, Traividyanuchitra; 2, Traividyanuvidhan; 3, Ativaruna, or Sativaruna; and 4, Natreyi. The Pundit thought by Dharmapala Yudhisthira of the Mahabharat was meant, and by Partha (in the inscription Partha) his brother Arguna, but this is preposterous. The pillar, though it does not bear any Samvat year, is no doubt much more modern than the Vikrama era. The Rajah Dharmapala, or of some other name ending with Pal, belongs, in my opinion, to the family of the Pal-Rajas of Benares, who are thought to have been Buddhists. I have not the Asiatic Society's books just now with me for reference, but if my memory does not fail there is some mention of these Rajahs in them, and also perhaps in Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*. The letters in which the four names are inscribed seem to differ a little from those of the Sloka, and in all probability have been added subsequently. The most curious of all is the undeciphered portion of the inscription at the foot of the fac-simile like a representation of snakes, shells, birds, &c., but I am convinced it is a fifth name, and most probably in old Trans-Himalayan, Bhotiya, or Chinese characters. Who knows if it may not be the name of Fa-Hian, or his follower fellow-countrymen? In the Society's books I have seen several old inscriptions accompanied with such characters at their foot or side (See No. 9, Plate XXXV., page 676; and No. 16, Plate IVI., page 968, in Vol. VI. of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal); but to my great astonishment I have seen them written in durable black ink, now unknown, in the roofs of caverns, beyond the ordinary reach of the human hand, in the valley of the Sutlej near Dutthagar, in Bisaher territory, and at Achhar Patachar in Bhujji (a small principality near Simla). There is a similar inscription on a rock by the side of the little rivulet in the small village Kalka at the foot of the hills on which the Kussowlee cantonment stands."

THE ZUMANEAH LATH.

At a distance of about one mile east of the Ganges and of the Tehseeldaree of Zumaneah, in the village of Lutteah, there is a remarkable *Lath*, or monolith column (*vide* illustration), which appears to be a sister pillar to the Puhladpoor column. I have had the earth and concrete removed from the base of the column to a depth of 2½ feet, but no inscription is traceable on

Monolith pillar of Lutteah, near Zumaneah.

(8) Hiouen Thsang, in his account of his visit to Magadha, mentions a very distinguished Buddhist teacher, named Dharmapala, at the time of Vadjra, the last Gupta King; perhaps the pillar was erected in his honour (*vide* page 46, Vol. II., Monsieur S. Julien's translation of Hiouen Thsang).

It appears to me likely that, in the same way as the village of *Lutteah* takes its name from the *Lath*, or pillar, found there, so the name *Puhladpoor* may have originally been *Pâl-lath-poor*, "The town of Pâl's pillar."

the base or on the column, although on the four sides of the base of the column a portion of each face of the base has obviously been prepared for an inscription.

The present height of the column above the mound on which it stands is 26 feet, of which 5½ feet belong to the capital, and about 2½ feet to the base or square portion of the column. The thickness of the column is 20 inches; the depth below the surface of the mound is certainly not less than from eight to ten feet. Near the base of the column there, lying on the ground, is a circular stone three feet and a half long, which it is probable surmounted it, as the thickness of the stone (20 inches) is the same as that of the column, and at the lower part of the stone there appears to have been a cavity exactly fitting a small shaft in which the monolith terminates.

The stone ends in a piece of sculpture, representing two female figures from the waist upwards, joined at the back by a flat stone which rises above their heads and shoulders. The total height of the column, when surmounted by this piece of sculpture, was twenty-nine feet above the surface of the ground. The column is slightly deflected from the perpendicular. It is secured in its place by four massive stones, buried in the ground at the four corners. Around the column are extensive deposits of brick *debris*, which have been for years past used as quarries.

The old Thannah and other houses in the town of Zumaneah were built from bricks excavated here, and large quantities of broken-up bricks have been carted away as ballast for the East Indian Railway, which runs within half a mile of the pillar. In a small mud-built shivala in the adjacent village of Lutteah there is a very large *lingum*, and near to it a much-defaced octagonal piece of sculpture, which appears to represent eight faces or heads joined together at the back.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1836 contains an allusion to two pillars near Zumaneah relating apparently to the Puhladpoor and Lutteah columns, but I have not been able to find any description of them in the Journal of the Society. In Zumaneah there are many Afghan families, the descendants of an Afghan colony planted by Aurungzebe. They boast that their ancestors destroyed immense numbers of idols in the neighbourhood of Zumaneah. It is probable that ancient remains would be more numerous than they are but for the destructive action of the Ganges at Zumaneah, and the not less destructive action of these iconoclasts.

Recently Discovered Remains.

Ancient remains in the district not hitherto described.

I now come to describe some ancient remains which I believe have hitherto escaped the notice alike of archæologists and of the district officials, and with which I became acquainted while in camp in the district in the cold season of 1868-69.

Temple at Hingotur, Pergunnah Mahaitch.

In the village of Hingotur, in the Pergunnah Muhaitch, on the old road from Benares to Ghazeepoor *viâ* Pulloahghât, at a point equi-distant from Benares and Ghazeepoor, and about five miles south of Sydpoor, there is still partly standing on an elevated platform of stone a small flat-roofed structure, built of large and richly-carved stones, which appears to be a temple of immense age.

All mortar, if any ever existed, has disappeared from the building, and the stones are piled one upon another in so insecure a manner that the slightest shock would bring them all to the ground. The structure seems to have been a "bara-durree" on 16 massive square pillars or clusters of pillars, resembling closely the building at Sydpoor now used as "a Mahomedan sacred place," described by the Reverend M. A. Sherring.

The Hingotur temple has an appearance of much greater age than the Sydpoor building; but the alterations, repairs, and white washings of the Mahomedans have effectually disguised the antiquity of the latter building.

In March, 1869, while making some excavation in the tumuli described by Mr. Sherring at Zahurgunje Bazaar, near Sydpoor, I walked a short distance along the road towards Jounpoor, and soon perceived that I was passing over the site of an old city. The whole ground at and near the village of Aonreehar is covered with fragments of bricks and stones. Every few yards masonry wells, some perfect and some dilapidated, occur. Carved stones, and *debris* are to be found in abundance in the villages north of Aonreehar.

Remains to the west of Sydpoor, of an old city at Aonreehar.

In the village of Aonreehar large carved stones are scattered about, and pieces of sculpture are so numerous that I had no trouble in collecting twenty-nine of various sizes for removal to Ghazeepoor. The spirited execution of the figures and the antique elegance of their head-dresses prove that all these sculptures belong to the days of a civilization which has long passed away.

To the north-west of the village of Aonreehar, the remains of masonry walls may still be traced running in the direction of the enormous mound, covering several acres and about 25 feet high, called the Kote or Fort of Mussown, which Mr. Sherring mentions. This tumulus appears to consist in a great degree of *debris* of bricks and stones. I have seen bricks of excellent quality, 18 inches long, 9 inches wide, and 4½ inches thick, which were found in the mound.

Walls going toward Mussown Fort.

To the east of the road from Sydpoor to Buhuriabad, at a distance of about two miles from the Fort of Mussown, is a small house built entirely of bricks of the size given above, which is identical with the size of the bricks at the great Buddhist remains at Sarnath, Benares. These bricks appear to have been removed from the Fort of Mussown.

Small building constructed of ancient bricks of great size.

An immense number of small but obviously very ancient carvings are lying about in piles and around trees in the bazaar of Zahurgunje, adjacent to Sydpoor.

Other remains at Sydpoor and Zahurgunje.

Near the Mahomedan building (formerly Hindoo or Buddhist) described by Mr. Sherring, are lying four uncut stones, each sixteen feet long and very massive, which have been there from time immemorial.

At Ghouspoor, 9 miles from Ghazeepoor, on the Buxar Road, large masses of stone and quantities of bricks have been from time to time discovered ; the upper half of a finely-carved female figure, dug out of a tank, is now an object of religious veneration.

Remains at Ghouspoor on the Buxar Road.

In a shivala near by, the lower half of this figure, and another unbroken female figure, and a remarkably fine sculpture of a lion 4 feet long and 3 feet high (resembling those found as capitals of ancient pillars) have been collected.

Going still further east to Beerpoor and Narayanpoor, there are mounds of *debris*, in which sculptures and coins have been frequently found.

The remains at Beerpoor and Narayanpoor.

At Shekhunpoor, 12 miles north-east from Ghazeepoor, on the Kassimabad Road, ancient remains have often been found by the villagers. I had some trifling excavations made there, and found a small but finely-carved head, and an extensive brick building now buried beneath earth and *debris*. (*See Note A.*)

Remains at Shekhunpoor.

There are also a large number of mounds composed of earth, of *debris*, and of bricks, many of them of great extent, scattered over the district, in which it is probable sculptures would be found if excavations were made. These are called by the people "kotes," and are all attributed by the Hindoos now inhabiting the district to the aboriginal people called Bhurs, Choroos, and Seorees, who held the country before its occupation by their ancestors.

Other mounds of *debris*.

It is probable that some of them are relics of the days of Gupta civilization.

Enumeration of some of the ancient "*kotes*."

Amongst these "kotes" I may mention the Ghazeepoor kote, on which the Government Dispensary is built. The kote at Permit Nuddy four miles west of Ghazeepoor, and the Pucka Kote, north of the Surjoo River, in Pergunnah Kopachit. There are also in Khanpoor Pergunnah, on the banks of the Goomtee River near Sydpoor, 26 "kotes," many of which contain old masonry wells and *debris* of bricks.

Remains in Shahabad near the Ghazeepoor District.

In the Shahabad District, near the town of Buxar, and also at Chowsa, adjacent to the confluence of the Ganges and the Karumnassa, and at a village in Chynepoor near the Karumnassa, south of Zumaneah (called, I believe, Nurpuran), very ancient sculptures and other remains are found. The Chowsa remains have been brought to light in excavations for railway ballast.

These remains strong evidence of civilization, and that the Ghazeepoor District was part of an extensive kingdom.

The stone used in this district appears to have all come from the Chunar quarries, which are much more easily reached from Ghazeepoor than any other.

The mass of stone used in the sculptures, columns, and buildings in the district, and transported from Chunar if not from some more remote locality, is enormous. It is highly improbable that in the remote period of the erection of the building so great a quantity of stone could be procured from, or transported through, the territory of a foreign prince. From these considerations it appears that an extensive tract of country, embracing the Ganges valley from Buxar to Chunar, must have been in those days under the sway of the same rulers.

Who were the kings of the country.

Who these rulers were we are told by the inscription on the Bhitree column. The names of the first four of these kings are found on a column at Allahabad, and many of them are also recorded in an inscription discovered in 1840 in the old Fort of Behar, and deciphered by Baboo Rajendra Lall Mittra in 1862. All these sovereigns have the common surname "Gupta;" their coins, and those of other sovereigns of the same family, have been found in abundance, not only in Ghazeepoor and the adjacent districts, but in the Buddhist remains at Sanchi in the Bhopal territory, and as far as Canouj in a north-western direction. An interesting account of these coins by James Prinsep, with plates, is given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for October, 1836, from which I subjoin an extract, with an illustration, showing some of the principal coins of the Gupta Kings:—

COINS OF THE GUPTA KINGS.

Extract from James Prinsep's account of the Gupta coins.

"*Hindoo coins imitated from the Ardokrotype* (9).—Since my former paper on the Gupta coins of Canouj appeared, very important acquisitions have been made to our knowledge of this before unknown dynasty through the medium of coins and of inscriptions; for both of which we are almost entirely beholden to the researches of Lieutenant A. Cunningham and Mr. V. Tregear in the neighbourhood of Benares.

"The inscription in an ancient character upon the column at Allahabad, interpreted by Captain Troyer and Dr. Mill in the 3rd Volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, had made us acquainted with the four first of the family; namely, 1, Gupta, a Rajah of the Solar race; 2, Ghatot Kacha, his son; 3, Chandra-Gupta, his son; 4, Samudra-Gupta, the fourth in descent;—and there the Allahabad record broke off with an intimation that a son was expected.

"The Bhitree lath, brought to notice by Messrs. Tregear and Cunningham, fills up the line of succession for three generations further (*see* Plate XXX. of the present

(9) The original *Ardokro* coins are Bactrian, and have this name inscribed upon them in Greek characters. Several groups of Hindoo coins resemble them in general design. The Gupta coins form one of these groups. (*See* page 639, Volume V., Asiatic Society's Journal for 1836 A. D.)

number). We may so far anticipate the translation of this highly important record promised to us by Dr. Mill for the illustration of our subject, as to state that the infant son of Samudra was named Chandra-Gupta II. His son was, 6, Kumar-Gupta; after whom followed, 7, Skanda-Gupta; and there again this new authority breaks off.

"Now to all these (excepting perhaps the first) we can at present assign their respective coins from undoubted and numerous specimens, and the succession of the devices on the obverse and reverse will be seen to follow just that modification from the original Mithraic model of the Ardokro coin as would be expected when the source was nearly forgotten and Hindoo ideas became predominant. Moreover, we can, from our coins, add the name of Mahendra-Gupta, and perhaps of Assa-Gupta to the list, and there is presumptive evidence of a second Samudra, as of a second Chandra. Altogether we may reckon upon nine or ten generations, which at an average of eighteen years will fill a space in Indian history of nearly two centuries, of which no written account can be met with, unless the passage in the Vishnu Purana that the Guptas, a Sudra family, reigned over a part of Magadha at the time of its compilation, be regarded as alluding to our dynasty. The sites whence their coins have been most frequently obtained certainly agree with this description; but the date assigned to the Purana must in this case be carried back a few centuries, and by the Mlechhas of the Indus must be understood the Indo-Scythians rather than the Musalmans. But I had intended to confine myself to an enumeration of the new coins, and to postpone speculation until we are thoroughly acquainted with them."

Chronology of the Kings.

Chronology of the Gupta Kings.

The chronology of the Gupta Kings is discussed at length in the twelfth chapter of General Cunningham's work on the Bhilsa Topes.

The results of General Cunningham's investigations are given in the following tabular statement (10) :—

Names.	Titles.	Gupta Era.	A. D.
I. Gupta, ...		0	319
* II. Ghatot-Kacha, ...		21	340
* III. Chandra-Gupta, 1st ...		41	360
* IV. Samudra-Gupta, ...	Parakrama ...	61	380
* V. Chandra-Gupta, 2nd ...	Vikramaditya ...	81	400
* VI. Kumar-Gupta ...	Mahendra ...	111	430
* VII. Skanda-Gupta ...	Kramaditya ...	121	440
VIII.	Lagraditya ...	133	452
* IX. Budha-Gupta ...		161	480
X. Takta-Gupta ...		191	510
* XI. Nara-Gupta ...	Baladitya ...	221	540
XII. Vajra ...		251	570
Conquest of Siladitya ...		281	600

"The stars placed against the names in this table denote that coins have been discovered of each of those princes; and it is from coins alone that I have ascertained that Baladitya was named Nara-Gupta."

Authorities.

The data relied upon by General Cunningham in fixing these dates are the following :—

1*st*,—The work of Abu Rihan, an Arab historian, who discussed the various Indian eras.

(10) See paragraph 4, Chapter XII., The Bhilsa Topes.

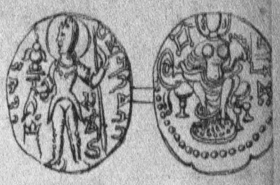
GUPTA COINS.

ASSA GUPTA.

GHATOT KACHA.

CHANDRA GUPTA.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.



SKANDA GUPTA.

MAHENDRA GUPTA.

SKANDA GUPTA.

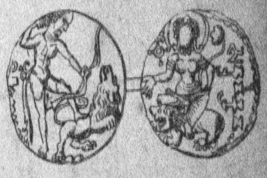
MAHENDRA GUPTA.

CHUNDRA GUPTA.

KUMARA GUPTA.

SINHA VIKRAMA.

SINHA VIKRAMA.



AJIT MAHENDRA.

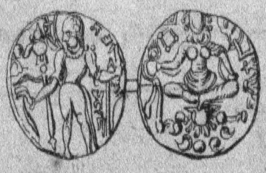
AJIT MAHENDRA.

AJIT VIKRAMA.

VIKRAMA CHANDRA.

MAHENDRA GUPTA.

SKANDA GUPTA.



AJIT MAHENDRA.

CHANDRA GUPTA.

2nd,—Inscriptions in the Gupta Character at Udaya-giri on a rock tablet, at Sanchi on a gateway, on the Kuhaon pillar, and on the Eran pillar.

3rd,—Jain writings.

4th,—The travels of Fa-Hian, and Hiouen Thsang, Chinese Buddhist travellers in India.

Religious belief of the Gupta Kings.

The kings of the Gupta Dynasty appear to have been most of them believers in the Hindoo religion; but the greatest of all of them, the second, Chandra-Gupta, and his son Kumara-Gupta, were Buddhists; and Sitaditya, the great king of Oojene, who overthrew the dynasty, was a Buddhist likewise.

The following passage from General Cunningham's work on the subject I give *in extenso*, as it illustrates and explains the translation of the Bhitree inscription, and corrects an error into which Dr. Mill has fallen in his translation :—

Extract form General Cunningham's work on the Bhilsa Topes, relating to the Bhitree inscription and the Gupta kings.

(19.) " But, if my chronology of the Guptas be correct (11), we have the most clear proof of the Buddhist belief of Chandra-Gupta in Fa-Hian's travels. The Chinese pilgrim left his native land in A. D. 399, and returned to it again in A. D. 415. His visit to Pa-lian-fu, or Pataliputra, the capital of the kingdom of Mo-kio-thi, or Magadha, therefore took place in the early part of Chandra-Gupta's reign. He describes the city as very large; the people as rich, and fond of discussion, but just in all their dealings. They celebrated Sakya's birthday annually by a procession of four-wheeled carts with little chapels at the four corners, each containing a seated Buddha, with Bodhisatwas standing by him. This festival still survives in the Rath Jattra, or annual procession of Jagannauth, which the crafty Brahmans have adopted into their own creed because it was too popular to be suppressed.

(20.) " At the time of Fa-Hian's visit Buddhism was the prevailing religion of the Punjab, and of Northern India from Mathura to the mouth of the Ganges. Between the Punjab and Mathura, that is in Brahmavartta Proper, the law of Buddha was not held in honour. But this was the original seat and stronghold of the Brahmans and their religion; and its exception by Fa-Hian is one amongst the many proofs of the pilgrim's accuracy. Everywhere else Buddhism was honoured and flourishing; the kings were firmly attached to the law, and showed their reverence for the ascetics by taking off their tiaras before them. But at Sanchi and at Shewei, in Oudh, the heretical Brahmans had attempted to destroy a sacred nettle and some holy topes. The very attempt shows the increasing power of the Brahmans, and their confident hope of ultimate success.

(21.) " In the Bhitree Pillar inscription no mention is made of the religious belief of the first Chandra-Gupta, but his son Samudra would appear to have been a strict observer of the Vedas, as he is repesented offering vast sacrifices to the ancient elemental deities, Indra, Varuna, and Yama. In his own inscription on the Allahabad Pillar he is also compared to Dhanada, Varuna, Indra, and Antaka; that is, to the gods of the four elements, earth, water, fire, and air. His son, the second Chandra-Gupta, and his grandson, Kumara-Gupta, are called worshippers of the *supreme* Bhagavat, whom Dr. Mill identifies with Krishna. But as the Vishnu Purana, which was most probably written in the tenth century, makes no mention of the *worship* of Krishna, although it gives a long account of his *history*, the Bhagavat who was worshipped by Chandra and Kumara must be either Vishnu or Buddha. In his remarks on this inscription, however, Dr. Mill drops Krishna altogether, and makes Vishnu the object of Chandra's and Kumara's worship.

(11) See Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, Chapter XII., Paragraph 19.

But as Bhagvat is one of the commonest of the many titles of Buddha, the balance of evidence still remains very much in favour of Chandra-Gupta's attachment to Buddhism. It is even possible that Chandra-Gupta may have professed Buddhism in the *early* part of his reign, and Vaishnavism in the latter part; for the difference between the two is more nominal than real. Indeed, the mention of Vishnu himself would no more invalidate the Buddhism of Chandra-Gupta than the Tantric pictures of Mahadeva and Kali can disprove the present Buddhism of the Tibetans and Nepalese. The exoteric or outward worship of chaitiyas and of statues of Buddha no doubt remained unchanged; but the esoteric or philosophical speculations of the learned were continually changing; and the comparatively pure Theism and practical morality of Buddha were first encumbered with the mild quietism of the Vaishnavas, and at last deformed by the wild extravagances of the Tantrists.

(22). "Skanda-Gupta, the grandson of Chandra-Gupta, ascended the throne of Magadha about A. D. 410. He inherited the vast dominions of his family, including the whole of Northern India from Gujrat to the mouth of the Ganges; and, though his reign was disturbed by the rebellion of a minister, yet he left his kingdom undivided to his successor. Of his religious faith there is no doubt; for, in the Bhitree Pillar inscription he is stated to have possessed 'a clear insight into the wisdom of the Tantras.' The mysteries of the Tantrikas were secret and incommunicable. They taught formulas of incantation and mystic charms for the attainment of superhuman power. They degraded the material worship of the reproductive powers of nature by a sensual and obscene interpretation, in which Siva and Durga, or their emblems the *lingam* and *yoni*, played a conspicuous part. One of their orders, the Kapalikas, or "men-of-skulls," has been well represented in the Prabodha Chandrodaya, a Native metaphysical drama. The speakers are a Buddhist monk, a Brahman mendicant, and the Kapalika :—

"*Buddhist.*—'This man professes the rule of a Kapalika. I will ask him what it is.' (Going up to him) 'Ho! you with the and bone-skull necklace, what are your notions of happiness and salvation?'

"*Kapalika.*—'Wretch of a Buddhist! Well, hear what is our religion :—

With flesh of men, with brain and fat well smeared,
We make our grim burnt-offering; break our fast
From cups of holy Brahman's skull; and ever,
With gurgling drops of blood, that plenteous stream,
From hard throats quickly cut, by us is worshipped,
With human offerings meet, our god, dread Bhairava.

"*Brahman mendicant* (stopping his ears).—'Buddhist, Buddhist, what think you of this? Oh! horrible discipline!'

"*Buddhist.*—'Sacred Arhata! some awful sinner has surely deceived that man.'

"*Kapalika* (in a rage).—'Aha! sinner that thou art—vilest of heretics, with thy shaven crown drest like the lowest outcasts—uncombed one! away with thee!'

(23). "The extravagance of this class of Tantrikas is further displayed by the Kapalika's boast :—

"'I call at will the best of gods, great Hari,
And Hara's self, and Brahma: I restrain,
With my sole voice the course of stars that wander
In heaven's bright vault; the earth, with all its load
Of mountains, fields, and cities I at will,
Reduce once more to water; and behold!
I drink it up!'

"From this specimen of the Tantrika faith it may be inferred that the cabalistic charms and mystic incantations, added to the free use of spirituous liquors, induced

an excited state of mind in the votaries that was highly favourable to a full belief in the attainment of superhuman power. No wonder that the Buddhist considered such extravagance as the effect of delusion.

(25.) "But the Tantrika doctrines continued to spread in spite of their wildness; and they at length became so popular that they were even carried into Nepal and Tibet, and permanently engrafted on the Buddhism of those countries. Their success was, however, as much due to force as to persuasion, for zealots are always persecutors. To Skanda-Gupta, therefore, I would attribute the persecution of the Buddhists mentioned by Hiouen Thsang. Writing in the first half of the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim says:—'Not long ago the King, She-shang-kia, who persecuted and sought to abolish the law of Buddha, tried also to destroy the stone which bore the holy impressions of his feet.' As She-shang-kia is not included by Hiouen Thsang amongst the five kings who reigned over Magadha previous to Siladitya's conquest, he must be looked for amongst the predecessors of Buddha-Gupta. Of these, the only one whose name at all resembles She-shang-kia is Skanda; and, as his Tantrika zeal would naturally have led him to persecute the Buddhists, there is every probability in favour of the proposed identification. It is also not unlikely that the rebellion of Skanda-Gupta's minister may have been caused by his persecution of Buddhism. But the followers of 'Sakya' recovered their influence; and the holy stone, which She-shang-kia had thrown into the Ganges, was restored to its original position, where it was seen by Hiouen Thsang about A. D. 642.

(26.) "The interval between the death of Skanda-Gupta and the date of Buddha-Gupta's pillar at Eran is only thirty-two years; and as Hiouen Thsang places Lo-kia-lo-a-yi-to (perhaps Lokaditya) as the immediate predecessor of Buddha-Gupta, a reign of about twenty-five years might be assigned to him to connect the series of the earlier Guptas found in the pillar inscriptions with the later series recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. In the Soonì copper-plate grants there is mention of Deva-Gupta, a paramount sovereign, whose authority was acknowledged by the petty Rajas of the Narbada. He must therefore have been one of the Magadha dynasty; and he might either be placed between the two series of Guptas, or be identified with the first of Hiouen Thsang's princes. As Lo-kia-lo-a-yi-to is evidently some title, such as Lokaditya, 'Sun-of-the-world,' similar to those which we know were assumed by other members of this dynasty, it seems quite probable that Deva-Gupta and Lo-kia-lo-a-yi-to were one and the same person.

(27.) "The name of Buddha-Gupta ('cherished by Buddha') refers so distinctly to his own faith, that there can be no hesitation in classing him amongst the royal followers of Sakya. His pillar inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165, or A. D. 484; and I suppose that he may have reigned from about 480 to 510 A. D. During this period, in A. D. 502, the Chinese record an embassy sent by the 'King of India,' named Keu-to (that is *Gutta* or *Gupta*,) to the Emperor of China, with presents of crystal vases, perfumes, precious talismans, and other articles. The 'Kingdom of India' is afterwards described to be the country watered by the Ganges and its affluents; that is Magadha as it existed under the Guptas, which included Magadha Proper and all the tributary provinces between the Himalayan and Vindhyan Mountains. This vast empire was possessed by four Gupta princes, the predecessors of Buddha-Gupta; and there is sufficient evidence to prove that his sway was equally extensive. He is mentioned by Hiouen Thsang amongst the Kings of Magadha; he is called, in the Eran pillar inscription, King of the beautiful country situated between the Kalindi and Narmada, or Jumna and Nurbudda; and his silver coins are of the Gujerat type of the Sahs of Surashtra, which was used by his predecessors, Kumara and Skanda. Mr. Thomas doubts the accuracy of James Prinsep's reading of Kalindi; but I can vouch for its correctness, as I have examined the inscription carefully, and am now writing with a fac-simile before me. What Mr. Thomas calls the very legible *r* over the concluding compound letter is only the long vowel *i*. The name is perfectly distinct on the pillar.

(28.) "According to Hiouen Thsang, Buddha-Gupta was succeeded by Tha-ka-ta-kin-to, or Takta-Gupta, but his dominions must have been confined to Magadha Proper, as we learn from the inscription on the colossal Varaha Avtar at Eran that the paramount sovereign Toramana possessed all the country about Bhupal and southern Bundelkund not many years after the elevation of Buddha-Gupta's pillar; for the pillar was erected by Vaidala Vishnu, at the expense of his cousin Dhanya Vishnu, while the colossal boar was set up by Dhanya Vishnu himself. The death of Buddha-Gupta, and the accession of Toramana, therefore, both took place during the lifetime of Dhanya Vishnu; but there must have been an interval of some years between the two events, as Dhanya's elder brother, Matri Vishnu, who is not even mentioned in the pillar inscription, had since assumed the title of Maharaja, and was then dead. Dhanya himself then became regent, apparently, to the young prince, Toramana; for, in another inscription from the Fort of Gwalior, I find Toramana described as the son of Matridasa, and the grandson of Matrikula, who is probably the same as Matri-vishnu. As the celebrated hill of Adaygiri is mentioned in the Gwalior inscription, there can be little doubt of the identity of the two Toramanas, and of the consequent extension of the principality of Eran to the banks of the Jumna. The reign of Toramana probably extended from A. D. 520 to 550, contemporary with Takta-Gupta of Magadha.

(29.) "From this time until the conquests of Siladitya, King of Malwa, in the early part of the seventh century, nothing certain is known of the history of India. Takta-Gupta was succeeded by Nara-Gupta, Baladitya, and he was succeeded by Vajra, who was reigning when Siladitya conquered Magadha. According to Hiouen Thsang, this warlike prince 'fought battles such as had never been seen before,' and all the northern provinces submitted to him. Hiouen Thsang visited his court in A. D. 642; and from him we learn that the King sent an embassy with a present of books to the Chinese Emperor. This present proves that Siladitya was a follower of Buddha, for none but Buddhist works would have been acceptable to the Buddhist Emperor of China."

Fa-Hian. Temple of vast Solitude.

Fa-Hian and Hiouen Thsang.

In this passage frequent mention is made of the Chinese Travellers Fa-Hian, who visited India in the beginning of the fifth, and Hiouen Thsang, who spent several years in India in the early part of the seventh century.

The Temple of the Vast Solitude.

Fa-Hian mentions in his journey from Patali Putra, or Patna, to Benares, that nearly midway between the two places he came to a temple near the Ganges called the "Temple of the Vast Solitude," that it was one of the stations of Buddha, and that there were ecclesiastics there (12).

Identical with a site mentioned by Hiouen Thsang.

This temple, it appears to me, probably was at the place five miles east of the temple of Narayana Deva (13), where, according to the account of Hiouen Thsang, which I shall give in full, Buddha conquered the demons of the desert. In the time of Hiouen Thsang monasteries were still there.

Probably at Beraoli, nearly opposite Buxar.

Reasons will be given for believing the site of this temple to be a Banyan grove of immense age in the village of Beraoli in the Ghazeepore District, five miles east of Naraynpoor, on the north of the Ganges, three miles below Buxar (14).

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(12) See page 307, Laidley's Translation of the Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian—(Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, 1848).

The total distance from Patna to Benares, 190 miles, is called by Fa-Hian 22 *Yeon Yans* along the course of the Ganges.

The di tance from Patna, or Patali Putra, to the temple of the "Vast Solitude," was 10 *Yeon Yans*, or 86 miles, and the distance from the temple to Benares was 104 miles, or 12 *Yeon Yans*.

(13) See page 381, Vol. 1, Monsieur S. Julien's Translations of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang: Paris, 1857.

(14) The distance from Beraoli to Benares along the river is 100, and to Patna 90 miles, which correspond very closely with 12 and 10 *Yeon Yans*, or 104 and 86 miles.

Hiouen Thsang. Kingdom of Lord of Battles.

Hiouen Thsang's visit to the Ghazeepoor District.

Hiouen Thsang's account of his visit to what was then called the Kingdom of the Lord of Battles, but is now the district of Ghazeepoor, taken from the translation of M. Stanislaus Julien, is as follows (15):

Leaving this country (Varanasi or Benares) he followed the course of the Ganges; and, after having made about three hundred li (16) to the east, he arrived (*i. e.* Hiouen Thsang) at the kingdom called Tchen-tchou-koue, or, the Kingdom of the Lord of Battles (Yodha pati poura?)

Kingdom of Tchen-Tchou.

(Yodha pati poura.)

This kingdom has a circuit of about two thousand li. The capital, which is near the Ganges, is about ten li in circumference. The people are rich and happy; the towns and villages are very numerous. The soil is rich and fertile; the grain-crops are sown and cut at regular seasons. The climate is agreeable and temperate; morals are pure and honest; but the men are of a fierce disposition, and believe at the same time in heresy and the truth. There are a dozen monasteries; they contain nearly a thousand monks, who all follow the doctrine of the lowest means of advancement (17). There are twenty temples of the gods, which the heretics promiscuously frequent.

To the north-west of the capital is a monastery, in the centre of which stands a stupa (18), which was built by King Asoka. We read in the Memoir on India: "In this stupa there is a measure full of the relics of Tathagata (19). Formerly, the Honorable of the Age (that is Sakya Muni) dwelt in this monastery, and there for seven days by favour of the gods explained the excellent law.

At the side of this monastery are the seats of the three past Buddhas (20), and a place where they used to walk for exercise and left their footprints. Very near this we remark a statue of the Bodhisattva (21) Maitreya. Although it is of small size, it breathes a celestial majesty. Its divine power manifests itself in a mysterious manner, and from time to time wonderful prodigies shine forth.

After having gone about two hundred li to the east of the capital, he arrived at the "Monastery of those whose ears are not pierced" (*Aviddha karna sanghârâmâ*). The circuit of the walls is not great; but this building is adorned with very remarkable sculptures. We may see basins in which flowers are reflected; towers and pavilions with roofs touching each other. The monks are grave and reverential, performing their duties with a perfect regularity. In old historical narratives we read that: "Once in the kingdom of *Toukhârâ* (*i. e.*, Turkestan) north of the great snowy range, dwelt two or three *Srâmânâ* (*i. e.* Buddhist ascetics), living only for study, whose

(15) Monsieur S. Julien's Translation of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang (Paris 1857), Vol. I., page 377, *et post ea.*

(16) A li, a Chinese measure of distance, was, at the time of Hiouen Thsang, nearly equivalent to one-fifth of an English mile—(*vide* Monsieur L. Vivien de Saint Martin's Analysis of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang, page 259, Vol II., of S. Julien's work).

The Indian name of the kingdom is not given by Hiouen Thsang; but the meaning of the name is rendered in Chinese.

(17) Hinayana—method of progression in holiness by means of religious discipline, as practised by the Auditors or lowest class of the Buddha community.

In the French of M. Julien, "Petit vehicule."

(18) A Tope, or relic tower, for the preservation of the relics of Sakya Muni, and eminent saints; is also in general a Buddhist religious building.

(19) Tathagata, one of the names of the mortal Buddha Sakya Muni. The word means, "He who has thus (or in like manner) departed," and implies, in a person using it, a belief that previous to Sakya Muni there had been other incarnations of Buddha, and that, like them, Sakya Muni had departed from the world.

(20) That is, the last three incarnations before Sakya Muni.

(21) Bodhisattva, or true intelligence, the highest order in the Buddha community.

minds were filled with the same sentiments. Day after day, in their leisure moments, prayers and devotions over, they would say amongst themselves: "The excellent principles of the law are full of obscurity and mystery; and it is not by talking that they can be mastered. Monuments of religion stand forth in their splendour on every side; we must seek them step by step, learn about them from brother devotees, and go and contemplate them with our own eyes."

Hereupon the two or three friends, with pilgrim-staves in their hands, set out upon their travels together. At one time, having found their way into India, they were minded to lodge in the monasteries, but were everywhere treated with contempt, as being borderers, and no one condescended to take them in. Externally they were harassed by cold and damp, internally tormented by hunger. Their faces were emaciated, their limbs thin and withered.

At this time the King of the country, walking near the suburbs, noticed these foreign monks. He expressed surprise, and asked to what country they belonged, why they had come, why their ears were not pierced, why their clothes were so dirty and threadbare?

"We belong," said one of the devotees, "to the kingdom Towkârâ. Having received with respect the holy doctrine, we have renounced the world, and, with some friends, animated with the same zeal as ourselves, we wished to contemplate and adore the sacred monuments. But, alas! for our unhappy destiny, the mass of monks regard us with scorn, and no devotee of India deigns to give us asylum. We would wish to return to the country of our birth; but we have not yet accomplished our pious pilgrimage. This is why we are so weighed down by fatigues and sufferings. We shall not cease from our travels till we have obtained the object of our vows."

While hearing these words the King felt himself moved with pity. Immediately, he caused the erection of a monastery in this fortunate place, and issued the following decree, which they wrote on a piece of white cotton: "If I have the honour to be placed above men, and if I occupy amongst them the most illustrious rank, I am for all this indebted to the divine help of the three precious ones (22). As I am king of men, it is for me to execute the commands of Buddha. All those who wear coloured garments (all monks) have a right to my help and benefactions. I have founded this monastery that hither with courtesy I may invite travellers. Henceforth, all the monks whose ears are pierced shall neither tarry nor dwell in this monastery, which is mine." "This is the origin of the name which this monastery has received."

After having made about a hundred li to the south-east of "the convent of those whose ears are not pierced," he (Hiouen Thsang) passed the Ganges to the south, and arrived at the town of Mahasala, or Mahâsâra, of which the inhabitants were Brahmans, and did not follow the law of Buddha. Nevertheless, when they saw these pilgrims, they commenced asking them what was the object of their studies. When they found that they possessed solid learning, they showed them profound respect. To the north of the Ganges is a temple consecrated to the God Narâyânâ Devâ. Here are pavilions and towers, two storeys high, decorated in the most brilliant manner.

The statues of the gods are ingraved in stone with wonderful art, and there shine wonders without number.

After having gone thirty li to the east of the temple of the God Narâyânâ Devâ, he (Hiouen Thsang) met with a stupa, which was built by King Asoka. It is in great

(22). The Buddhist Triad—philosophically

Buddha—Supreme intelligence,

Dharma—Material nature,

Sangha—The concretion of mind and matter in the phenominal world.

In a religious sense, Buddha means Sakya Muni,

Dharma, his law, and Sangha, the congregation of the faithful.

part sunk in the ground. Opposite to this monument they have raised a pillar of stone, nearly 20 feet high. It is surmounted by a figure of a lion, and has a carved inscription, which recounts the defeat of the demons. Formerly in this place there were demons of the desert, who abused their strength and power, and feasted on the blood and flesh of men. They enjoyed inflicting misfortunes on living beings, and caused disasters without number. Tathágátá took pity on those men whom a premature death had snatched away. By the aid of his divine power he converted all the demons, taught them to reverence the sanctuary, and commanded them to abstain from murder.

The demons, having received his instructions, walked around and around him with religious salutation, and meanwhile they raised a block of stone and invited Buddha to sit upon it. They wished to hear from his mouth the right law, to subdue their spirit, and to keep his precepts. From that time the infidels have united their efforts to upraise the stone; but in vain they, to the number of ten thousand, attempted it,—they never could move that seat which the demons had placed there. Verdant groves and ponds of pure water abound to the right and to the left of the monument. People who approach it cannot avoid a feeling of awe. At the side of, and near, the place where Buddha subdued the demons, are several monasteries.

Though they are mostly very dilapidated, yet there are still many monks who follow the doctrine of the Highest-means-of-Advancement (23).

On leaving this country, he (Hiouen Thsang) went a hundred li to the south-east, and arrived at a stupa, not more than ten feet high, the base of which was sunk in the earth. Formerly, after the Tathágátá had entered on immortality, the mighty monarchs of eight kingdoms divided his relics amongst themselves. The Brahman who measured the relics smeared with honey the inside of the vessel he was using. After having distributed the relics to the eight kings, the Brahman took his vase and returned with it. Having thus obtained the relics which had been in this way collected, he raised a stupa, and placed them with the vase in the centre of the monument, whence comes the name of this stupa.

In after ages, King Asoka opened the stupa, and withdrew from it the vase which contained the relics; then he rebuilt and increased the size of the monument. Sometimes, when a fast day comes, a brilliant light is seen from the stupa.

On leaving this kingdom he passed the Ganges to the north-east, and made a hundred and forty or fifty li, and arrived at the kingdom of Vaisale.

Monsieur I. Vivien De Saint Martin's explanation of Hiouen Thsang's Itinerary.

Monsieur L. Vivien De Saint Martin, Monsieur S. Julien's colleague in Sanscrit Chinese Researches, gives the following account of Hiouen Thsang's Itinerary in the kingdom of the Lord of Battles (24) :—

After having visited the religious establishments around Benares, Hiouen Thsang made 300 li towards the east, following the course of the Ganges, and arrived at a kingdom designated under the name of *Tchen-Tchow-Koue.* This is a solitary

(23) Maháyáná,—method of progression in holiness by the transcendental principles of faith, as practised by the Bodhisativas, or "true intelligences," who were the highest class of the Buddhist community. In the French translation of M. Julien, *Le Grand Vehicule,* Hiouen Thsang has the following passage on the distinction between the followers of the Maháyáná and the Hinayána: "There are eighteen schools, which each claim for themselves the superiority. The followers of the great and of the little means of advancement form two classes apart. The one meditate in silence, and, whether walking or resting, keep their spirits unmoved, and practise abstraction from the world; the others differ entirely from the first by their strong discussions. According to the place where they live, they have made for themselves a code of regulations, and of prohibitions of a special character."

See page 77, Vol. I., M. Julien's Translation of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang.

(24) See page 361, Volume II., of Monsieur Stanislaus Julien's work.

instance in his narrative in which the Indian orthography of the name is not given in phonetic characters.

The three Chinese letters, signifying *Kingdom of the Lord of Battles*, we also find as meaning *Kingdom of the King of Battles.* This would be in Sanscrit, in the first case, *Youddha pati poura*, and, in the second case, *Youddha radja poura;* but no town of this name is mentioned in our Sanscrit works. The distance indicated from Benares brings us to Ghazeepoor, on the left bank of the river. The place is certainly ancient, although it does not occur in any Indian document of an earlier age than the Mahomedan conquest. Its actual name, the origin of which we do not know, represents perhaps a Sanscrit form, Kaseepoura (25).

That which follows in the Itinerary presents some uncertainties in the wording of it, and we should be inclined to suspect that there is some omission.

Nevertheless the general result does not admit of any doubts, because the two principal stations which are mentioned admit of certain identification. From the capital of the kingdom of *Tchen-Tchou* (Youddha pati) Hiouen Thsang made two hundred li to the east, about 15 leagues, to the monastery called the "Monastery of those whose ears are not pierced." This indication of the distance, if exact, would bring us near to the confluence of the Surjoo with the Ganges.

"Thence," continues the text, "the master made about 100 li, and, after having crossed the Ganges, arrived at the Brahmanical Town of Mohosolo." It is impossible not to recognize this town in a locality of which the actual village of Masar marks the site, two leagues to the south-west (26) of Arrah, above the confluence of the Ganges and the Soane. This place has been distinguished by Mr. Francis Buchanan, in his Archæological Survey of the District of Shahabad, as very remarkable for the ruins of religious buildings, which bear the seal of great age. The ancient Sanscrit name may have been Mahasârâ; this is the form which is reproduced in the Chinese transcription. But the distance from the confluence of the Surjoo is 14 or 15 leagues, that is to say, exactly 200 li, in place of 100 li which the text mentions. The distance marked for the following stage from Mahasara to Vaisali is just as much too short as the preceding one. It is mentioned as 140 or 150 li to the north-west, and the Ganges is repassed. So far as relates to the direction and the crossing of the Ganges, is exact; but the actual distance from Masar to the site of Vaisali is about 18 leagues, or 245 li, in place of 145 li as mentioned.

Objections to Monsieur L. Vivien De Saint Martin's explanation of the Itinerary of Hiouen Thsang.

The ingenious account which Monsieur Vivien De Saint Martin has given of the Itinerary of Hiouen Thsang in the Ghazeepoor District, appears to me to be liable to the following objections:—

(1.) Hiouen Thsang, following the course of the Ganges from Benares, would pass the great cities and forts near Sydpoor, and would have mentioned them; but, by Monsieur Vivien De Saint Martin's account, he does not do so.

(2.) If a city of the Gupta age had existed on the site of Ghazeepoor, and a monastery near the confluence of the Surjoo and Ganges, it is probable that ancient remains of the period would have been found at these places; but none have been as yet discovered.

(3.) If Hiouen Thsang wished to go from Ghazeepoor to Masar, near Arrah, his direct and natural road would have been by Buxar, and not by the confluence of the Surjoo.

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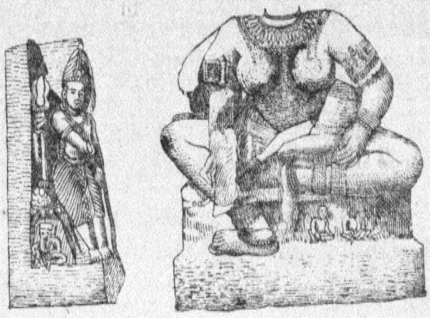
(25) The name Ghazeepoor is derived from the title of its founder, Syed Mullick-ool-Saadad Massaood Ghazee, who conquered the district in the reign of Mohammed Togluck, and founded the city in 730 Hijree, or 1330 A. D. (From ancient manuscripts in the possession of his descendants.)

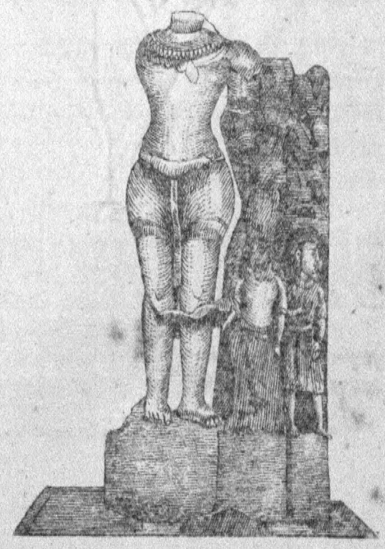
(26) Masar is north of the railway, and six miles *west* of Arrah.

SCULPTURES FOUND AT AONREEHAR,

NEAR SYDPOOR,

ON THE SUPPOSED SITE OF A BUDHIST MONASTERY FOUNDED BY ASOKA, DESCRIBED BY HIOUEN THSANG (NORTH-WEST OF THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF THE "LORD OF BATTLES.")





(4.) If Hiouen Thsang were at the confluence of the Surjoo and the Ganges, and wished to go to Vaisali, his direct and natural course would have been to the north-east, without crossing the Ganges.

(5.) Mahasârâ, in Hiouen Thsang's narrative, is on the Ganges; but Masar is not now within ten miles of the Ganges, nor is it likely the Ganges flowed there twelve hundred years ago, though at a still earlier period it undoubtedly did so.

(6.) From the narrative of Hiouen Thsang, Mahasara appears to have been a small town, and no Buddhists were residing there. But Masar must have been a city of great extent, for the ballast on a length of seven miles of the East Indian Railway has been taken from the ruins, and the deposits of old bricks seem inexhaustible. Furthermore, Masar appears to have been a Buddhist city, as the Jains, who so often built on old Buddhist sites, have a temple there, and I have myself seen images of Buddha found in the excavations.

Proposed explanation of the Itinerary of Hiouen Thsang.

I now venture to propose an explanation of the Itinerary of Hiouen Thsang, by which all these difficulties are removed, and which is confirmed at every point by ancient ruins and present names.

The Capital.

The distance from Benares, if it be read as 200 in place of 300 li, will bring us to the vicinity of Sydpoor, which, innumerable remains prove, was the capital of the country.

• The Monastery founded by Asoka.

To the north-west of Sydpoor are the extensive remains at Aonreehar, which correspond with the monastery built by Asoka to the north-west of the capital.

The Monastery of those whose ears are not pierced.

The distance from Sydpoor to Ghouspoor, where numerous sculptures and remains have been found, is almost exactly forty miles, or 200 li, to the east,—the same distance which Hiouen Thsang mentions as that from the capital to the "Monastery of those whose ears are not pierced."

Mahasara.

From Ghouspoor to the ford of the Ganges at Buxar is almost exactly 20 miles, or 100 li, to the south-east,—the distance which Hiouen Thsang mentions as that from the monastery to the Ganges at Mahasara.

The ancient name of Buxar, as recorded in the Emperor Babar's Autobiography, is Buksera; this may have been originally Bahasara, derived from Mahasara by that most ordinary of linguistic changes, the alteration of M into B (as "Boz," the *nom de plume* of Charles Dickens, was a child's corruption of "Moses").

The Temple of Narayana Deva.

The fact that opposite to Mahasara was the temple of Narayana Deva, and that opposite to Buxar is the village of Narayanpoor, in which ancient remains exist, confirms these indentifications in a remarkable manner.

The Temple of the Vast Solitude, and the Monastery founded by Asoka.

Thirty li, or six miles, from the temple of Narayana Deva, to the east, there were, according to Hiouen Thsang, Buddhist monasteries, a column, and a topo. These appear to have been in a banyan grove of immense age, situated in the village of Beraoli, six miles east of Narayanpoor (27). There are traces of ancient buildings in the grove; but as it is situated on a very low site and liable to frequent inundations of the Ganges, no building erected there could be permanent.

It is still impossible, as it was in Hiouen Thsang's time, to resist a certain sensation of awe on entering this grove, as the gnarled and contorted branches of the

(27) This is on the supposition that the Temple of the Vast Solitude and the Monastery of the King Asoka were on the north of the Ganges. It is not impossible that the correct site may be some village opposite to Beraoli, on the south or left bank of the river.

old banyan trees, stretching far along the ground, give to the place a weird and gloomy character.

Both the character of the achievements of Buddha, recorded as having been performed at this place, in subduing the Demons of the Desert, and the situation of the place, nearly midway between Benares and Patna, identify it as the site of "The Temple of the Vast Solitude" or "Desert" mentioned by Fa-Hian.

The Karka Stupa or Drona Stupa.

100 li, or 20 miles, south-east of Mahasara, Hiouen Thsang mentions having seen the small tope erected by a Brahman over the fragments of the relics of Sakya Muni, which adhered to the vase he had used in dividing them amongst the eight kings. It appears probable that an old brick mound, situated near the railroad, east of the Rugnoonathpoor station, 20 miles east of Buxar, would, on exploration, be found to be this relic tower. The tope was called Drona Stupa, or Karka Stupa (28), from the "Drona" or "Karka" used in the partition of the relics. These names appear to be preserved in an altered form in the names of two villages close to the tumulus I have mentioned, *viz.*, Dhoondunpoor and Kant (29). There are also some brick mounds north and south of the railroad, west of the Rughoonathpoor station, which would probably repay exploration.

General Results of the Investigation.

General results of this investigation.

The principal facts which may be considered established with regard to the early state of the Ghazeepoor District are as follows :—

(1.) In the time of Sakya Muni, five hundred and fifty years before Christ, the country along the Ganges from Sydpoor to Buxar was inhabited, and was the scene of two incidents in the life of Sakya Muni.

(2.) This country formed part of the Kingdom of Asoka, the grandson of Chundra-Gupta, or Sandracottus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great; and Asoka erected one at least of his pillars, and two topes or stupas, within this area.

(3.) Subsequently this country formed a separate kingdom, under the name of the "Kingdom of the Lord of Battles," but whether before or after the period of the Gupta Dynasty is uncertain (30).

(4.) This kingdom was, from the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 7th century, included within the empire of the Gupta Dynasty, the capital of which was in Magadha or Behar, the city of Patalipoutra, or the modern Patna.

(5.) The country, as appears from the travels of Hiouen Thsang, contained a mixed population of Hindoos and Buddhists.

(6.) The people were partly Aryans and partly aborigines.

There were Aryans, for Hiouen Thsang distinctly mentions the Brahmins; and there were aborigines, for a few centuries later we shall find these aborigines numerous, and the masters of the country.

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(28) *Vide* page 383, Vol. I., M. Stanislaus Julien's work.

Bournouf, Introduction on Buddhism, page 372.

Page 28, General Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes.

Page 287, Mrs. Spier's Ancient Life in India.

(29) The elision of the letter *r*. from old Sanscrit words in their modern form is by no means uncommon,—*e. g.*, the Sanscrit *Krosa* has become *Kos*.

(30) It seems to me not improbable that the "Kingdom of the Lord of Battles," was the *Jagheer* or territory, assigned to the Sena-puti or Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Siladitya, Rajah of Oojene, who overthrew the Gupta Dynasty.

(7.) The country east of Buxar, and north of the Ganges appears to have been a great forest; no ancient remains are found there, and many old trees of immense size, generally banyans, still remain, which probably belong to the time when the country was, to use the language of Hiouen Thsang and Fa-Hian, "a desert" or "vast solitude."

(8.) The country between Sydpoor and Buxar, on both sides of the Ganges, though possibly not all cleared, was inhabited by a cultivated and civilized people, whose temples, columns, and sculptures still attest their former greatness.

Note A.—Since the printing of this Chapter, I have seen the remains at Lucknesur on the banks of the Surjoo, which are very curious. There are immense piles of *debris*, and numbers of pieces of sculpture which have from time to time been found in them. In the chief village of Pergunnah Shadeabad there is a very singular ancient Hindoo building very like that at Bakaryakund described by the Reverend M. A. Sherring in his work on Benares, which has been used as the tomb of a celebrated Mahomedan saint and warrior, Mullik Murdan, and transformed by the addition of five domes into a Mahomedan building. I have also recently found in the city of Ghazeepore, near the tomb of the founder of the city, a Mahomedan mosque which was without doubt formerly a Hindoo building. In the northern portion of the town of Zumaneah, near the river, I have recently discovered an extensive *Kote* from which massive carved stones have been frequently excavated. They are to be found in numbers scattered about the ground, and also in the walls of dwelling-houses, mosques and other buildings in the vicinity. I noticed on one of these fragments the ancient Hindoo and Buddhist symbol of the *Swastica.*

Note B.—It is right to mention that Mr. Edward Thomas, late of Bengal Civil Service, is by no means convinced by the arguments of General Cunningham that his own opinions as to the Chronology of the Gupta Kings are erroneous. Professor Lassen favours the Chronology of Mr. Thomas, which places the overthrow of the Gupta Dynasty about three hundred years earlier than that of General Cunningham. The following table gives the Chronology of Professor Lassen and Mr. Thomas:—

Gupta Kings:

		A. D.		A. D.
I.	Gupta	... 150	V. Chandra Gupta II.	230
II.	Ghatok Kacha	... 160	VI. Kamara Gupta	240 to 270
III.	Chandra Gupta I.		VII. Skanda Gupta	
IV.	Samudra Gupta	... 195	VIII. Budha Gupta (Toramna)	... 318

See page 276, Volume I., Prinsep's Essays. London, 1858.

Note C.—The Column of Puhladpoor, bearing the name of Dharmapala, was, I think, probably erected by one of the Kings of the Pala Dynasty, whose empire extended from Gour in Bengal to Kanouj. This Dynasty is noticed by Abul Fuzl in the Ayeen Akbery (*see* page 24, Volume II., Gladwin's Translation) and also in Raghunath's Rájávali, and in the Agni Purána.

The very name Dharmapala occurs in ancient copper plates found at Monghyr, and at Dinajpore (*see* Volume I., pp. 295 and 395, and Volume II., page 271, Prinsep's Essays). Possibly the numerous ancient remains found at Monghyr by Mr. Harris, of the East Indian Railway, belong to this Dynasty.

Note D.—With reference to my suggestion in Note (60) that possibly the Chinese expression, meaning Lord of Battles, was merely an equivalent for the Sanskrit *Senaputi*, it is interesting to note, that from inscriptions on copper plates found in Western India, it is proved, beyond a doubt, that a Dynasty called *Valabhi* or *Balhara* existed, of which the first two kings were called Senaputi. (*See* Volume I., pp. 252-264, Prinsep's Essays.) Two of the Kings of this Dynasty bore the name of *Siladitya*. It would appear, from Colonel Tod's Rajasthan, that the first founder of this family was an emigrant from Oudh.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAND-OWNING TRIBES OF THE GHAZEEPOOR DISTRICT.

SECTION I.

Fraternities, not Individuals, Recognized as Owners of Land at Permanent Settlement.

Permanent settlement of the Ghazeepoor District made with fraternities, not with individuals.

At the settlement of the Ghazeepoor District made in 1789 A. D., and subsequently declared permanent, in the great majority of cases fraternities or brotherhoods belonging to various Hindoo and Mahomedan tribes were recognized by the Government as the owners of the soil. The settlements were concluded with a few headmen in each estate, as representatives for the whole community. (1.)

Exceptions.

The Rajah of Huldee, in the east of the district, was recognized as sole owner of two or three large estates; and in one or two cases, by accident rather than by design, the headman of a proprietary community was treated as sole owner.

Superior and inferior rights not recognized.

In no case was the existence of any divided ownership, of superior and inferior proprietary right, admitted.

Talooqas, but no Talooqdars.

There were *Talooqas*, in some cases of immense extent, containing scores of villages, and paying as much as Rs. 25,000 land revenue; but there were no *Talooqdars*. The owners of the Talooqas were a brotherhood, comprising hundreds, and, in some instances, thousands of shareholders.

No detailed record of ownership and of liabilities till 1840.

No detailed record of the extent of ownership of the various shareholders was attempted till 1840. No man knew exactly what land he owned, or how much revenue he was liable to pay. As may be easily imagined, disputes were frequent, which were in many cases instigated or fomented by the *Amils* and *Tehseeldars*—native sub-collectors of revenue.

Disputes fomented by native officials.

Who mislead the Collector.

Balances of land revenue accrued; the Collectors were easily persuaded by their native subordinates—frequently the nominees and paid creatures of the sub-collectors—that the only cause of non-payment of revenue was the contumacy of the Zemindars, and their unwillingness to liquidate the just claims of Government.

Frequent auction-sales.

The estates of the defaulters were indiscriminately, and in every case, put up for sale by auction, often without the necessary legal preliminaries, till at length the only limit to the sales was the inability of the Collectors to find purchasers. In the Collectorate of Benares, which then included the Ghazeepoor District, in a single year—1205 Fuslee, or 1797-98—estates paying a land revenue of Rs. 1,46,000 were brought to the hammer for balances. Purchasers, at the most inadequate prices, could only be found for estates paying Government revenue of Rs. 53,000. The rest remained for that year unsold. The estates which would now be worth nine lakhs of rupees or £90,000 were sold for Rs. 15,500, or £1,550. (2.)

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(1). See Section XVII., Regulation II. of 1795.

(2). In 1808, the Collector of Benares, Mr. Salmon, wrote as follows:—

"Many proprietors have lost their patrimonial estate, their respectability, and property, by these sales for protracted balances, if not fictitious also."

And again, "I am afraid this custom" (of selling estates for balances supposed to have accrued several years previously) "obtained as a better cloak to fraud and exaction, and that certain of the more intriguing and powerful natives might get at an easy price the best estates in this province."

One estate, paying Rs. 1,850 Government revenue, in the Ghazeepoor District was sold in 1205 Fuslee for Rs. 70. It would now probably fetch Rs. 40,000; *i. e.*, an estate was bought for £7, worth now £4,000.

The largest purchasers were the Amils, through whose intrigues and machinations the balances accrued. Estates of immense extent were bought by them at prices less than a hundredth part of the present value.

The Amils the largest purchasers.

One Amil, Deokeenundun, a man who corrupted the Collector with his bribes, and whose creatures guarded every avenue of approach to his person, acquired in this manner the second largest estate in the district.

Deokeenundun.

The Collector of Benares and Deokeenundun were both dismissed with ignominy by the Governor-General (3); but the ill-gotten estates of the Amil were left in his hands, and at the present day are enjoyed by his grandson.

The Collector and Deokeenundun dismissed.

Some of the more obviously irregular, though perhaps not the most iniquitous of these auction-sales, were cancelled by Government; but the great majority of them were allowed to stand.

A few sales annulled.

Since the preparation of the detailed record of rights and liabilities in 1840-41, sales for the realization of Government revenue are unknown; but auction-sales, in execution of decrees of court, occur constantly.

Auction-sales for land revenue have ceased since preparation of record of rights in 1840-41. Court in execution of decrees.

The dispossessed landowners still live in their old homes, and cultivate some of the fields they once owned; they are always considered and called the *Zemindars*, or landowners, while the auction-purchaser receives the less dignified title of *Neilamdar*.

Dispossessed landowners considered rightful owners.

Rightly or wrongly, they consider that they have an inalienable right to the land of their forefathers, and cannot but regard with an unfavourable, if not a hostile eye, the Government whose strength alone prevents their enforcing it.

Never abandon their claim to land.

The existence of this great class of dispossessed proprietors forms one of the chief difficulties of our administration, and nine-tenths of the litigation in our Revenue Courts is due to it. The political danger arising from this cause has a tendency ever to assume more formidable dimensions, as the number of the ejected landowners is yearly swelled by the sales of land in execution of decrees; and the privileges and means of subsistence of the former landholders are yearly diminished by the action of the Revenue Courts on the suits of the auction-purchasers.

A source of difficulty and danger increasing.

The only cases in which, in this country, a compulsory transfer of proprietary right is thoroughly acquiesced in by the former owners, is when they feel that the new proprietors are so much more powerful than themselves that recovery of their property is not to be hoped for. Now, in this district, as a rule, the auction-purchasers are far inferior in caste, in influence, in numbers, and in courage, to the former owners.

The system of landed property in a state of unstable equilibrium.

The system of landed property is consequently in what may be described as a state of *unstable equilibrium*, and must, owing to the wonderful tenacity of the Hindoos in cherishing their claims to land, continue so for hundreds of years. The first time, for the next few centuries, in which the people are quite convinced that the Government cannot send troops to the district, they are likely, if not certain, to rise and eject the auction-purchasers.

It is a grave question whether justice and policy do not alike demand that some restriction should be placed on the power which the auction-purchasers now possess of enhancing *ad infinitum* the rents paid by the former proprietors for the fields which have remained in their possession.

A suggestion.

(3). See Judicial Consultation of Government of 2nd July, 1807.

SECTION II.

THE RAJPOOTS AND BHOINHARS,—THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

The land-owning fraternities.

THE great majority of land-owning fraternities of the district are Rajpoots or Chuttrees, and Bhoinhars.

Bhoinhars—who they are.

Bhoinhars, both by themselves and by ethnologists, are believed to be the descendants of Brahmins, who, on becoming cultivators and landholders, gave up their priestly functions (3A.).

Are venerated as Brahmins, but are never priests.

In popular estimation they share in something of the sacredness which attaches to the Brahmins; and, by the old law of the Benares Province, they, like the genuine Brahmins, were exempted from capital punishment; but family priests or spiritual guides are never chosen from among them by men of their own race, nor by other Hindoos.

Subdivisions of Bhoinhars called by names of Rajpoot tribes.

There are numerous subdivisions or tribes of the Bhoinhars, and these are generally, if not always, called by the name of some of the recognized Rajpoot clans or races. Thus we have Kinwar, Gowtum, and Kowsik Bhoinhars, as also Kinwar, Gowtum, and Kowsik Rajpoots; but there are many Rajpoot tribes which have no representative among the Bhoinhars.

Connection between the Rajpoot and Bhoinhar tribes of same name.

Whether any connection exists between the Rajpoot and Bhoinhar tribes of the same name is an obscure point; but in this district the Bhoinhar and corresponding Rajpoot tribes sometimes name the same city or country as the first home of their race; and in one case a Bhoinhar and Rajpoot tribe both claim descent from a common ancestor, and each admits that the pretensions of the other are well founded.

Bhoinhars intermarry on an equality and eat together.

The Bhoinhar tribes of this district all intermarry on terms of equality and eat in common. On the other hand, Rajpoots marry their daughters only into what they consider superior, and their sons into inferior tribes, and are very chary of eating together.

Union of the various Bhoinhar tribes.

There is consequently a much closer bond of sympathy and union between the various Bhoinhar tribes of the district than between the Rajpoots.

Illustration.

I once had occasion to sentence to a short term of imprisonment a young man of a respectable Bhoinhar family. A number of Bhoinhars, of a different tribe, and from a distant part of the district, begged that his sentence might be commuted to a fine, as his imprisonment was a disgrace to their entire community.

Character of the Bhoinhars.

Some of the larger Bhoinhar Zemindars are out-spoken, independent men of the yeoman class, loyal subjects, on a good footing with the District Officers; and are reverenced, if not beloved, by the tenants on their estates, to a degree which would hardly be believed by any one who has not walked over his village with a worthy representative of the class, and seen the evident sincerity of the obeisances with which he is greeted.

Affix of Bhoinhars Rai; of Rajpoots Singh.

The Rajpoots of this district are commonly called Singh, and the Bhoinhars Rai; but Bhoinhars enlisting in the army, or leaving the district, generally take the affix of *Singh*.

(3A.). In the Kymore and Vindya Hills, there is a race, probably aboriginal, called the Kuhurwars, who call themselves Bhoinhars. They are probably not connected in any way with the Bhoinhars of this district; but on leaving a forest life and taking to cultivation they may have acquired the name, as the Brahmins did on leaving a priestly or mendicant life and becoming cultivators. The word "Bhoinhar" is derived from the Sanscrit *bhu*, भू "the earth," and *har*, हार "he who takes."

The Bhoinhars in a couple of villages have, by a royal grant, the title of *Khan*; and one clan of Bhoinhars are called *Purdhan* instead of *Rai*.

Exceptions.

The estates of Bhoinhars, no less than of Rajpoots, passed away from them in that disastrous period from the permanent settlement to 1840, when the officers of Government had not always the will and never had the power to avert, though they might have mitigated, the evils which a rigid system of law, ill-understood by the people, and unsuited to their character and wants, inflicted on the landholders of the district.

Estates of Bhoinhars as of Rajpoots sold by auction for balances of revenue.

But even when the estates of the Bhoinhars have been sold by auction, they have often contrived to attain as cultivators a position of comparative affluence, and not unfrequently men whose own lands had passed from their hands have been able to buy those of their neighbours.

But the ejected landowners have retained some wealth.

The Bhoinhars are a more frugal and industrious race than the Rajpoots, and less haughty. They, unlike the Rajpoots, regulate their expenditure in marriages, and on other similar occasions, rather with reference to their actual income than to their imaginary rank.

Bhoinhars more frugal and less haughty than Rajpoots.

They have a capacity for accumulation; and many of the Bhoinhar Zemindars have very extensive cultivation, and make a considerable income by lending money and grain.

More wealthy.

SECTION III.

Mahomedan Land-Owning Tribes.

At the permanent settlement a large number of villages, in almost every part of the district, were settled with Mahomedan communities;—some of them the descendants of converted Hindoos; some of the foreign conquerors of Hindoostan; and some whose origin and ancestry are doubtful.

Fraternities of Mussulmans.

During the reign of Aurungzebe, and at a still earlier period, many Rajpoots and Bhoinhars became Mahomedans. Their descendants, though they call themselves Pathans, acknowledge and are proud of their Hindoo origin, and often keep up a close connection with the Hindoos of their original tribes. Although they do not eat together, yet they are invited by them to marriages and other festivities.

The descendants of high caste Hindoos acknowledge their Hindoo origin, and maintain connection with original tribe.

The number of these acknowledged new Mahomedans, or *Nau-Moslems*, is probably about 14,000. They have many fine qualities; but, as a race, are unfrugal, quarrelsome, and revengeful. Most of their property has passed away from their hands by auction and private sale. During the disturbances of 1857-58 they generally evinced a rebellious spirit; and, in the event of any similar outbreak occurring in this part of India, it is probable they would be amongst the first to join in it. Affrays on a large scale, often terminating fatally, were common amongst them before the general disarmament of 1859; and they still occasionally occur. Blood feuds, resembling the "vendettas" of Corsica, and not less protracted, often cause the commission of murder. Notwithstanding these bad qualities, there is in them something to admire: they are a brave and manly race; and, under a Government of a more simple and patriarchal kind, might have become contented and loyal citizens.

Their number and character.

The descendants of the first conquerors of this district are Syuds: their number is about 3,500. They own several villages in the west of the Mehomadabad Pergunnah; and, in the adjacent parts of the Ghazeepoor Pergunnah, many of them are gentlemen of education and intelligence, filling high appointments in the Government service.

Original Mahomedans. The Syuds.

There are about 28,000 Sheikhs in the district, who own a large number of villages in the Central and Western Pergunnahs. The principal colonization of Sheikhs appears to have been during the sixteenth century, between the reigns of the Lodi Kings and that of Akber. The Sadeekee Sheikhs of Puhetia in the Ghazeepoor, and the Ansaree Sheikhs of Yusoofpoor in the Mahomedabad Pergunnah, surpass even their neighbours the Syuds in mental energy and ability. A great number of the villages of the Sheikhs have passed away from their possession.

The Sheikhs.

SECTION IV.

Brahmin, Kayeth, and Aheer Land-owners.

In every pergunnah there are some villages owned by fraternities of Brahmins, who are often the "uprohits" or family priests of the neighbouring Rajpoot or Bhoinhar land-owners, from whom their ancestors received grants of land (4). In other cases, they are the descendants of privileged cultivators, who, at the permanent settlement, were recognized as the owners of the patches of land held by them. The estates of the Brahmin communities are often fragments separated from, but appertaining to, larger estates, and called "chuks." Many of these Brahmins enjoy a very unenviable reputation for fraud, mendacity, and insubordination. There is one village named Tewareepoor, in Pergunnah Lucknesur, of which it is stated all the inhabitants are professional witnesses.

Brahmins.

In most of the pergunnahs of the district, there are a few villages belonging to communities of Kayeths or Lallas, of the families of the hereditary Canoongoes, or superintendents of village records and accounts.

Kayeths, or Lallas.

The town of Bulliah, which is a place of much importance and trade, and several villages in its neighbourhood, now belong to a clan of Aheers. Some of them in the time of the Delhi Emperors become Mussulmans: their descendants call themselves Sheikhs, and deny their Hindoo origin. The villages seem formerly to have belonged to the Rajah of Huldee; when he was dispossessed from his estates by the Rajah of Benares, the Aheers became "Mokuddums" (5), or chief cultivators; and proprietary rights were conferred on some of them at the permanent settlement, and on the remainder at the settlement of 1841-42.

Aheers.

SECTION V.

Traditions of the Rajpoots and Bhoinhars.

It is a remarkable fact, that, with the exception of a single small Bhoinhar tribe,—the Kustwars,—all the Rajpoot and Bhoinhar tribes of the district represent themselves as the descendants of immigrants, who, at a not very remote period, founded colonies here. According to their traditions, not more than from fifteen to thirty generations have elapsed since the first advent of their forefathers; and many of the tribes can give pedigrees, either written or traditional, which profess to contain the names of all the ancestors of men now alive as far back as the first founder of the clan. Except the Hyobuns Rajpoots and the Kinwars, all the tribes name places in the north, north-west, or in the west, as the homes of their race. Malwa, Bundelkhund, the Doab, the country beyond the Jumna from Agra to Delhi, Oudh, and the country beyond the Ghogra, all are named as the old homes of tribes now located in this district.

The land-owning tribes of the district describe themselves as the descendants of immigrants of a not very remote time.

(4).—In the three Eastern Pergunnahs,—Bulliah, Khereed, Doabeh—there are an immense number of Brahmins,—upwards of 50,000,—who hold several villages, not as owners, but by a peculiar inferior tenure called *Gowadaree*, which is derived from the actual owners, but gives a transferable as well as heredi-table, right in land.

(5).—See Clause 4, Section XVII., Regulation II. of 1795.

When we consider where the immigrants are said to have come from, and when they came, it seems in a high degree probable that when the first Mahomedan invaders began to press on the Hindoo tribes of the Upper Provinces, and to deprive them of their lands, many of them abandoning their old country to the foreigners went forth to seek a new one; and that the majority of our tribes are the descendants of these exiles. We know from history that the great Tomur clan of Rajpoots in a body abandoned Delhi; and we find in this district a clan which claims descent from the Tomurs. This is only one instance out of many of the connection existing between tribes now residing in this district and clans expelled by the Mahomedans from other districts hundreds of years ago.

Probably descended from Hindoos who abandoned their homes to the Mussulmans.

The Hindoo land-owning tribes all agree in stating that at the time of the first immigration of their forefathers, the entire country, except a few tracts held by Brahmins, so far as the forests had been cleared, was occupied by aborigines not of the Aryan race, who were in the habit of eating the flesh of swine and using intoxicating drinks, and were called Seorees, Bhurs, and Cheroos.

They state that on arrival of their ancestors the country was in the hands of aboriginal tribes.

Of them, the Seorees are said to have occupied Pergunnah Zumaneah, south of the Ganges, and the country on the banks of the Gangee River on the west of the district; and their Rajah lived at a fort near the confluence of the Gangee with the Ganges, about four miles west of Ghazeepoor, where there is a lofty "kote" formed of bricks and debris, in which ancient pieces of sculpture are found.

The Seorees.

The Bhurs, according to tradition, occupied the north portion of the district, comprising the Pergunnahs of Shadeeabad, Puchotur, Zuhoorabad, and Lucknesur. One of their chieftains lived, it is said, in Zuhoorabad, and another had his fort in Lucknesur *Deeh*—the deserted village of Lucknesur.

The Bhurs.

All the east of the district was the country of the Cheroos. Very extensive remains of brick and debris, covering between 20 and 30 acres, are to be seen at Pukka Kote, on the Surjoo, in Kopachit; and remains of earthen embankments, still larger, are at Wyna, in Pergunnah Bulliah. With regard to these places, no prevailing tradition, as far as I can ascertain, has survived; but the people of the country say, that from the Kote of Beerpoor, on the Ganges, a great Cheroo Rajah, Teekum Deo, ruled over the Mahomedabad Pergunnah when their ancestors first came. Maheepa Cheroo, who had his stronghold at the deserted village of Deoree, north of the Sooraha Lake, was, on the advent of the Hindoos, the lord of the delta between the Ghogra and Ganges.

The Cheroos.

The great Sooraha Lake, which is probably an old reach of the Ganges, is believed by the people of the neighbourhood to have been excavated by the Cheroos under a Rajah Soorut, from whom it takes its name.

SECTION VI.

The Authenticity of the District Traditions Discussed.

The question—What is the authenticity of the unwritten traditions of the people? is one which cannot with propriety be evaded in a work in which frequent reference is made to them.

What is the authenticity of district traditions?

I would here interpose that, whether true or false, they are, as it seems to me, when generally believed, of considerable importance. A knowledge of them gives to a District Officer an influence with the people not otherwise so easily acquired. They regard him as a sympathizing friend, who is acquainted with the origin of their race and the vicissitudes of their history.

They are not unimportant, even if untrue.

Furthermore, with the people of this country, the belief in traditions is sometimes not a mere speculative assent to their truth, but a regulative principle resulting in action. It must, however, be admitted, that, although traditions may be *politically* important, even if they are untrue, or largely mixed with error, yet their *historical* importance depends only on their truth. I therefore propose to state:—

How far true, and in what respects erroneous.

I.—Why they appear to me to be in the main authentic.

II.—In what respects they are, as I conceive, unreliable.

The traditions of the land-holding clans relate principally to the following points:—

1. Who held the country before the immigration of their ancestors?
2. Where their ancestors came from?
3. How they became masters of the country?
4. At what period?
5. What are the pedigrees of the chief families of each tribe?

Who held the country before the advent of the Hindoos.

With regard to the first of these questions, the testimony of tradition that the middle Ganges valley was formerly occupied by Non-Aryan aboriginal races is the evidence not of one but of a hundred concurrent traditions of all the land-owning tribes in the Benares Province, in Oudh, and in Behar. This evidence is confirmed by the fact that in Shahabad the Bhurs have up to the present day retained a portion of their vast domains. The Talooqa of Koindeh, an extensive tract in the Vindhya Hills on the borders of the Mirzapore District, belongs to a clan of Bhurs; and their headman a few years since—Baboo Rambuddun Singh—was a man of considerable wealth and influence. To resist these numerous, widely prevailing, and concurrent traditions, thus corroborated, there is—*nothing*. Under these circumstances, it is unreasonable to refuse to admit their truth.

Origin and former home of Hindoo land-owning tribes.

2. With regard to the origin and former home of the land-owning clans, the traditions widely prevalent, and strongly believed by large classes, are corroborated by the fact that the places named as the origin of the various clans in many cases are, or till a comparatively recent period were, occupied by people of the race. For example, the Gowtums of this district say their ancestors came from Argul, in the Futtehpoor District, where, till very recently, there was a Gowtum Rajah; the Seyngurhs state that they came from Phuphoond, in Etawah, where a strong clan of the tribe remains.

The Hyobuns mention Ruttunpoor, beyond the forest and mountains of the south, as their old home; and one hundred and ten years ago a Rajah of their race was reigning there. The distances of places recorded in their traditions from this district are often so great, that, except on the supposition of their truth, it is not possible to account for the fact that these names are not only known to thousands of people here little acquainted with Indian geography, but are "familiar in their mouths as household words."

Manner in which aboriginal tribes were supplanted.

3. With regard to the manner in which the Hindoos supplanted the aborigines, their traditions are entitled to much credit, because they often partake of the nature of evidence against interest, or, as it is sometimes called, *self dis-serving evidence*. Tradition generally represents the Hindoo as coming first a solitary adventurer, and taking service with an aboriginal Chief, as gradually increasing in influence, and gathering around him his kindred and other adherents, till, at last, on the endurance of some real or fancied indignity, he throws off the yoke of dependence, murders his employer, and makes himself master of his estates. There is nothing to be proud of in such a method of acquiring property, and the Rajpoot and Bhoinhar tribes are consequently often

chary of making known these traditions, till interrogated by some one who has heard them from some other source; they are apt, *at first*, to say that the Cheroos and Bhurs were merely wild men of the woods, and had no Rajahs or Chiefs, and that their ancestors were the men who cleared and cultivated the country.

In the Mirzapoor District a tradition, closely resembling many of those prevalent here, is current not only amongst the descendants of the Aryan colonists, but amongst those of the ejected aborigines. The authority of a tradition of two separate and hostile tribes, both interested in the same transactions, when concurrent, falls little short of that of written history.

The story is as follows:—

A great Balund, or Bhur Rajah, ruled over the country near the Soane, from Rhotasgurh to Burdhee, now in Rewah. He or his ancestors were the men who built the great forts of Rhotas and of Bidjeygurh. He had in his employment three brothers—Chundel Rajpoots. They conspired together, murdered the Rajah, and, dividing the country between them, formed three chieftaincies, the heads of which were the Rajahs of Bidjeygurh, Burhur, and Burdhee. Of these, the first recently became extinct; the second survives; and the third terminated in 1815 A. D., or thereabouts. The son (or nephew) of the Chief was at the time of the murder on a hunting expedition. He fled to the south of Rewah, and became the Chief of a tract called Marwas, where his descendants are living to the present day. During the disturbances of 1857-58, many of the Chundels of Bidjeygurh displayed a rebellious spirit and harboured rebel sepoys.

The Marwas Chieftain hearing of this, and expecting that their estates would be confiscated, made an application to the Magistrate and Collector of Mirzapoor, through the descendant of the old family priests of his clan, who resides in the Mirzapoor District, that the estates of his ancestors might be restored to him. It is probably more than six hundred years since the murder of the Bhur Rajah; so that the application of the Marwas Chief, besides proving the existence of a tradition concurrent to that among the Chundels, is a good illustration of the importance of old traditions in regulating the actions of people now, and also of the tenacity with which supposed rights in land are cherished in this country.

When the Hindoo colonization took place.

4. With regard to the period of the Hindoo colonization, traditions know nothing of years, they count by generations; and I am inclined to believe that, as a rule, the tendency of tradition is to represent the period of colonization as less remote than it actually is. Many of the traditional pedigrees of persons now alive give the names of only about fifteen ancestors from the first founder of the clan, equivalent to a space of three or four hundred years, a period insufficient for the growth of clans which were numerous and powerful a couple of centuries ago. Furthermore, in all cases in which a written pedigree is in existence, the number of generations from the first founder of the clan is greater than in the traditional pedigrees. That this should be so is easily accounted for: when any ancestor was not remarkable for founding two or more surviving branches of the clan, his name might very easily escape the memory of his descendants; and in this way the total number of generations remembered be considerably fewer than those which actually occurred.

Pedigrees.

5. With regard to the correctness of pedigrees handed down by tradition, I have given reasons for believing that they have many omissions; but so far as they go I believe them to be worthy of credit, as they are often corroborated by the names of territorial divisions of landed property, and the actual ownership of shares in the majority of estates in the present day depends upon them.

In connection with the subject of the authenticity of tradition, it may be asked, What traces have we of the aborigines during the dynasty of the Gupta Kings, who were of the Aryan race? What became of the Aryans who had been lords of the country during the Gupta age? and how did it happen that, in this part of India, there was a deficiency of Aryans, and in other parts a superabundance of them, at the time of the first Mahomedan invasion?

A possible objection to the authenticity of the district traditions mentioned.

In reply to these questions, it must be admitted that in his account of this district, Hionen Thsang does not specifically mention the aborigines; but in his general account of India (see Vol. I., page 81, Monsieur Julien's translation of Hionen Thsang, called "*Memoires sur les Contrées Occidentales)*," after enumerating the four great recognized castes of *Hindoos*, he adds:—"The other tribes of India form numerous classes, who, according to their state and circumstances, mix and marry amongst themselves. To give a detailed account of them would be tedious." Now, these "other tribes of India," whom he thus summarily mentions once for all, can have been no others than the aborigines: furthermore, it is in the highest degree likely that the passage in Hionen Thsang, quoted in the last chapter, which relates how Buddha subdued the *demons of the desert* and taught them his excellent law, refers to his conquest, and subsequent conversion of the aborigines to his faith. In any case, we know that the expansive and catholic system of Sâkya Muni admitted the aborigines to civil and religious equality with the Hindoos, and thus had a tendency to elevate them in the scale of civilization.

The answer.

The fact of the *complete extirpation* of the Buddhists, at one time the ruling class, and the *entire disappearance* from India of Buddhism, once the predominant religion, is alone sufficient to prove that its downfall must have been preceded by a fearful convulsion—a sanguinary civil and religious war. That such was the case, is further proved from historical documents, and from a careful examination of every Buddhist building of importance; in all of them traces of fire and the sword are to be found.

The downfall of Bhuddhism preceded by a deadly struggle.

This struggle must have been most deadly in the countries which were the first home and chief seats of the Buddhist religion—the Provinces of Benares and of Behar; and can have been but slightly felt in the country between Muttra and the Punjab, where, in the 5th century, according to Fa-Hian, the entire population professed the Brahminical faith.

On the downfall of Buddhism in this part of India, the distinction between the Aryans and the aborigines became as marked as ever: the former, weakened by their internecine war, were unable to hold the country; the latter, removed from the civilizing influences to which they had been subjected, relapsed wholly or partially into barbarism: and hence it was that this district, which thirteen hundred years ago formed an important part of a civilized Aryan monarchy, eight hundred years ago was under the sway of a number of petty semi-barbarous aboriginal Chiefs, and had a very small Aryan population; while, on the other hand, the upper valley of the Ganges was filled with a teeming population of Hindoos, who were in a position to send out colonies even before the coming of the Mussulmans, but who, on their coming, were compelled to do so.

SECTION VII.

Present condition and location of the aboriginal tribes.

Of the aboriginal races, the Seorees no longer reside in the district, or in the adjacent parts of the Gangetic valley; but, in the forests of Central India, a wandering tribe of this name is met with, who annually visit the plains of the Ganges, and sometimes extend their peregrinations as far as Oudh and Bundelkhund.

The Seorees in appearance strongly resemble the gipsies of Europe; their women wear a tartan dress, and often have a kind of horn projecting from the forehead as an ornament. They live in light and easily-moved booths made of grass and reeds; are fond of intoxicating drinks; and eat the flesh of swine and oxen. They procure wives for their young men by kidnapping female children; and live principally by jugglery, coining false money, and theft. During the hot season they often attack by night the bunjaras or travelling merchants, when halting at the camping-grounds amid the hills and forests of Sirgooja, and drive off their pack-bullocks, which, during the rainy season, they pasture in the jungle, and early in November bring for sale into the Mirzapoor District. One woman of the tribe, whom I saw, had with her, in a sack, the bones of her husband, who had died during the annual migration to the south. She had carried his remains about with her for hundreds of miles, in order that she might throw them into the sacred waters of the Ganges. This fact seems to indicate that the Ganges valley was once the home of the tribe; as it is only people residing within a moderate distance of the river who are in the habit of committing to its waters the remains of their dead. The Seorees whom I met in Oudh were brought before me for trial, and were convicted on the charge of fabricating and passing false money. A gang of about 50 or 60 of the Seorees, in the cold weather of 1859-60, stole three girls from the Mirzapoor District. In November, 1860, the tribe returned from the south, and pitched their camp at the foot of the hills near Ahrorah. During their stay there, in the day-time they used to keep the stolen children concealed under sacks, for fear of their being recognized by their relatives. Notwithstanding their precautions, the eldest girl managed to escape, came to my camp, and told me how the other two children were detained by the Seorees. On the following morning at dawn I surrounded the camp with a large number of men: some of the Seorees escaped to the hills; but most of them were arrested. After much search, the girls were found in a hole in the ground concealed by leaves. Several of the Seorees were convicted by the Sessions Judge, Mr. W. Edwards, who, as the children had no near relatives, made them over to the Church Mission Orphanage in Benares. The eldest of the stolen children, who was remarkably intelligent, gave me a full account of the habits and means of subsistence of the tribe. Some of the Seorees arrested were proclaimed dacoits, and were sent to the Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoitee at Jubbulpoor. I may mention, that the Seoree tribe is also called Sansee; but they will seldom admit the name of either Sansee or Seoree, and commonly say that they are Bunjaras, Kunjurs, or Nuts.

It is generally admitted that the gipsies who first entered Europe in the thirteenth century were emigrants from India. I would throw out the suggestion that they were not, as is often supposed, Hindoos who had fled from the Mussulmans, but rather aborigines who had been expelled from their homes by the Hindoos, and to some extent by the Mussulmans.

The Bhurs.

According to the census of 1865, there are 56,543 Bhurs residing in the district, nearly all of whom are in those Northern and Central Pergunnahs which tradition points out as the ancient possessions of the race. *Now* they own not an acre of land, and rarely attain even the dignity of cultivators. For the most part they are ploughmen or village policemen, and are much addicted to the crime of house-breaking with theft. It is said that there are two divisions of them,—the Raj Bhurs who do not eat swine's flesh, and are looked upon as a kind of low Hindoos; and the common Bhurs, who keep herds of swine, and are altogether out of the pale of Hindoo society.

Large numbers of Bhurs are to be found in the adjacent parts of the Benares Province and in Oudh. In the south of the Mirzapore District, in Pergunnah Bidjeygurh, during the disturbances of 1857-58, they showed some inclination to join the mutineers, who often visited the pergunnah, and to assert that a portion of the tract now owned by the Chundel Rajpoots was their rightful property. Their former

occupancy in the Mirzapoor District, and their present ownership in Shahabad, have been noticed in the preceding section.

The Cheroos.

None of the Cheroo tribe are now to be found in the Ghazeepore District; but there is a considerable number of them across the Ganges, in the Beheea Pergunnah of Shahabad. Many of them are settled in the reclaimed Jugdeespoor jungle, formerly the property of the celebrated rebel Baboo Kooar Singh, but now held by Messrs. Burrows, Thomson, and Myln. They are described as honest, industrious cultivators; and are said not to differ in appearance from Hindoos of the agricultural castes.

Shahabad and the other districts of Behar were till a comparatively late period in a great degree owned by the Cheroos, and governed by their Chieftains.

The family records of the Hyobuns Rajahs, formerly of Beheea, and now of Huldee, notice a conflict between the Cheroo and the Hyobuns Chiefs, which lasted for hundreds of years, and terminated in the triumph of the Rajpoots.

As late as the reign of the Affghan Emperor Sher Shah, the power of the Cheroos was formidable; and on his overcoming Maharta, a Chief of the tribe, he indulged in transports of delight (6).

Some of this tribe are now met with in the Kymore Hills, north of the Soane, in the Mirzapore District. For years, two Cheroo robbers, named Norah and Korah, infested the Soane valley under the great peak of Mungesur, and, armed with bows and arrows, committed many daring robberies and some murders. Their arrest could not be effected, as after each of their crimes they ascended the steep cliffs of Mungesur, and were harboured by the rude villagers living on the summit.

In March, 1858, Mr. St. George Tucker, the Magistrate, whom I accompanied, ascended the hill, and visited Choroe, a village whose name bespeaks its Cheroo origin. After collecting the villagers, he exhorted them to co-operate heartily in the arrest of these robbers, who had become the pests of the country. The result of this interview was that, a few days after, Korah and Norah were brought to his camp tied down on string beds. They had been plied with liquor and seized by the villagers when intoxicated. One of them afterwards escaped from jail, but was re-captured, and I believe ultimately they were both executed. In the Mirzapoor District, many other names besides the one I have mentioned indicate a Choroo origin. It seems likely that the Cherand Pergunnah and Cherand Island in the Sarun District are called after them.

SECTION VIII.

Revenue Subdivisions of the District.

Names Explained.

Before proceeding to a detailed account of the Rajpoot and Bhoinhar clans of the district, it is perhaps desirable to give some explanation of its revenue, subdivisions, pergunnahs, tuppahs, turufs, talooqas, mehals, villages.

Pergunnahs are now subdivisions of a district, containing a large number of villages, and called by a fixed name. In the early days of the Mahomedan empire they appear to have been clearings or cultivated spaces in the forest, occupied generally by a single, but sometimes by more than one fraternity or clan.

The Emperor Baber, in his Autobiography, mentions that the pergunnahs were surrounded by jungles, and that the people of the pergunnahs often fled to these jungles to avoid paying their revenue.

(6) See Elliot's Supplemental Glossary—Article Cheroo. Any facts which I happen to know with regard to Cheroos and Seorees, I give in full detail, as Sir H. Elliot has recorded his opinion that the collection of any information about them is very desirable, but hardly to be hoped for.

In the days of the Emperor Baber, the rhinoceros abounded in the country adjacent to the Ghogra; and wild elephants, first met with in numbers at Karrah, now in the Futtehpoor District, became more common as a traveller proceeded eastward. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the Ghazeepoor District, which is situated on the Ghogra, and far east of Karrah, must have been in a great degree a forest, swarming with herds of elephants and rhinoceros, three or four hundred years ago.

We learn from the "Ayeen Akbery" of Abul-Fuzl, that in the time of Akber each of the pergunnahs of the district formed a separate mehal or estate. These pergunnahs were often not included within the circuit of a single boundary line, and the isolated patches appertaining to them were sometimes at a considerable distance from the principal tract. In process of time all the forests intervening were cleared, and the pergunnahs became conterminous. Most of them were split up into smaller estates; but, as late as the permanent settlement, the entire pergunnah of Lucknesur was still a single estate held jointly by a large Rajpoot community. The process of making the pergunnahs more symmetrical, begun under the Mussulman, has been continued under the English Government, so that now each of the pergunnahs of the district is included within the circuit of a single line.

Some of the larger pergunnahs, occupied by more than one clan, have subdivisions called tuppahs. At the time of the permanent settlement several of these tuppahs constituted large mehals owned by a single clan. They have since been all broken up into smaller estates.

In some pergunnahs, held by a single clan, all the villages held by the descendants of a common ancestor, who, though not the first founder of the clan was amongst his earliest descendants, are grouped together under his name, and are called his "turuf" (literally his "side"). Turufs differ from tuppahs in this respect, that the villages of tuppahs are all situated together, and included within a ring-fence; while those in a turuf may be far apart from each other.

Talooqas are large estates containing the whole or part of a large number of villages. Mehal means simply an estate without regard to size. Large talooqas and estates containing only a fractional part of a single village, are alike mehals.

Mouzahs, or townships, are specific portions of land included within fixed and known boundaries, and called by a certain name. They are of two kinds,—inhabited and uninhabited. They differ from mehals in this, that their area remains unchanged; while that of mehals is liable to alterations from the division or junction of estates.

SECTION IX.

Detailed Account of Rajpoot Tribes.

The following Tabular Statement will show, at a glance, the distribution of the different Rajpoot tribes of the district, and the principle of classification which has been adopted in describing them.

RAJPOOTS.

Classification of Tribe.	Name of Tribe.	Head of Tribe, if any.	Pergunnah or portion of Pergunnah occupied by main body of the Tribe in the District.	Pergunnahs in which branches of the Tribe are formed.
Tribes, the chieftain of which is a Rajah in the district, or in an adjoining district	1. Hyobuns, or Hureehobuns ...	Rajah of Huldee	Bulliah.	
	2. Oojein, or Ponwars	Rajah of Domraon, in Shahabad ...	In Sheopoor Dear of Bulliah ...	Mahaitch and Doabeh.
Tribes predominant in an entire pergunnah	3. Seyngurhs	The Chowdhrees of Lucknesur Pergunnah	Lucknesur	Tuppahs Dhaka and Belapoor of Zuhoorabad, and a portion of Kopachit, which in 1841 was added to Secunderpoor, Pergunnah Azimgurh.
	4. Dikhit, called in Puchotur Puchotrias...	...	Puchotur	Shadeeabad.
	5. Guhurwars	The Lumberdars of Dhanapoor ...	Mahaitch	Puchotur Pergunnah.
	6. Gowtums	Zemindars of Mainpoor ...	Kurrendah	Pergunnah Buhuriabad Syudpoor, and Zumaneah.
	7. Lowtumea	Chowdhrees of Doabeh... ...	Doabeh, now a pergunnah, formerly a tuppah of Beheea in Shahabad.	
Tribes predominant in a tuppah, or large division of a pergunnah ...	8. Neikoombh	The Baboos of Reotee	Tuppah Reotee	Pergunnah Ghazeepoor, Bulliah, Syudpoor.
	9. Kinwar	,, of Suhutwar ...	,, Suhutwar or Mahutpal ... } Khureed Pergunnah.	
	10. Nurowlia	,, of Bansdeeh ...	,, Bansdeeh ... } Khureed Pergunnah.	
	11. Berwar	Lumberdars of Muneear and of Halpoor	,, Muneear / Mujowse } Khureed Pergunnah.	
	12. Kakun	...	Tuppah Bussar, Pergunnah Shadeeabad.	

SECTION IX.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF RAJPOOT TRIBES.—*(Concluded.)*

Classification of Tribe.	Name of Tribe.	Head of Tribe, if any.	Pergunnah or portion of Pergunnah occupied by main body of the Tribe in the District.	Pergunnahs in which branches of the Tribe are formed.
	13. Kurchoolia	Chowdhrees	Pergunnah Kopachit.	
	14. Kowsik	Lumberdars of Burragaon ...	Talooqa Chit, of Pergunnah Kopachit	Buhuriabad.
	15. Murwar	Ex-Zemindars Dooska	Talooqa Gai Ghât, and adjacent village of Zumaneah.	
	16. Sukurwar...	Lumberdars of Guhmur ...	Guhmur, Seoraee.	
	17. Burgyan	...	Tuppah Huvelee ... } Zuhoorabad „ Chilao ... } Zuhoorabad	Khanpoor.
	18. Soorujbuns	...	Pergunnah Khanpoor.	
	19. Beis	...	Pergunnah Buhuriabad.	
	20. Donwar	...	Sydpoor	Khanpoor. Bulliah. Ghazeepoor. Gurha.
	21. Rughoobuns	Ex Zemindars Nowul and Ootrowl...	Khanpoor.	
	22. Sookulbuns		Zumaneah.	

Classification of Tribes.	Name of Tribe.	Pergunnahs in which Colonies are situated.		
Small colonies of Rajpoot Tribes	Besains	Pergunnah Kopachit.		
	Rughoobuns	„ Khanpoor.		
	Mahowrha	„ Ditto.		
	Gehlote	„ Ditto.		
	Chowhan	„ Buhuriabad.		

The Hyobuns Rajpoots of the Bulliah Pergunnah, a clan of the Lunar race, are considered highest in rank among the tribes of this district. According to Sir H. Elliot, Mahesvati, the capital of the Lunar Rajpoots, in the Nerbudda valley, was founded by the Hyobuns; and Mr. R. Egerton, in a recent paper, states that a dynasty of Hyobuns Kings, which continued for fifty-two generations, was located at Ruttunpoor in the Central Provinces. The last of the dynasty, Rajah Rug Nath Singh, died about 110 years ago.

(1). The Hyobuns or Hureehobuns.

The Hyobuns of the district claim descent from the Ruttunpoor Kings. They have in their possession a historical pedigree, from which, and from other sources, the following account of the clan is taken:—

Chunder Gote, a cadet of the Ruttunpoor house, in the year 906 Sumbut, or 850 A. D., migrated northwards, settled at Manjha on the Ghogra, now included in the Sarun District, and waged successful war with the aboriginal Cheroos. After near a couple of hundred years, his descendants left Manjha, and settled south of the Ganges at Beheea, where they remained five centuries and subdued the Cheroos.

In or about the year 1584 Sumbut, or 1528 A. D., the Rajah, Bhoput Deo (or perhaps one of his sons), violated Mahenee, a Brahmin woman of the house of the Uprohit, or family priest, of the Hyobuns clan.

She burned herself to death, and in dying imprecated the most fearful curses on the Hyobuns race. After this tragedy the clan left Beheea, and passed beyond the Ganges to the Bulliah Pergunnah, where they for a while were located at Gai Ghât, and finally settled at Huldee, from which place the Hyobuns Rajah now takes his title.

The tomb of Mahenee, under a peepul tree, close to the railway at Beheea, is still visited by women of every caste, who come in numbers either to invoke her as a deified being, or to offer oblations in commemoration of her.

There are still a few Hyobuns residing in the neighbourhood, but nothing will induce them to enter the village of Beheea, once the chief seat of their clan, and in which the remains of their ancestors' fort are still to be seen.

The Rajahs of Huldee were for some time lords of the Bulliah Pergunnah, and probably paid revenue for the whole of it to the Moguls. Bulwunt Singh, the first Rajah of Benares, deprived them of their possession of the pergunnah. After the rebellion of Rajah Cheyt Singh in 1781 A. D., Mr. Francis Fowke, a special *protege* of Sir Philip Francis (7), and the son of Joseph Fowke, who was twice proceeded against in the Supreme Court by Hastings for a conspiracy with Nun Comar against himself, was Resident at Benares.

In that appointment he was conspicuous for the liberality of grants made by him in the name of Government, which have more than once given much trouble to his successors, and also for the influence which Cashmery Mull, treasurer of the Rajah of Benares, obtained over him (8). The Rajah of Huldee came to terms with Cashmery Mull, and conferred upon him grants of villages in the Bulliah Pergunnah, of which he was not himself in possession, except for a short term. A three years' lease of the entire pergunnah was given to the Rajah for the years 1190-91-92 Fuslee; *i.e.*, from 1782 to 1785 A. D. After the expiry of this lease, Mr. Fowke, in the name of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings,—but whether with or without his sanction I cannot say,—on the 30th November, 1785, gave a sunnud to Rajah Bhooabul Deo, which, as it appears to me, conferred upon him a perpetual grant of Rs. 16,000

(7). See Merivale's Life of Sir P. Francis. Fowke was removed from his appointment; but at the urgent request of Sir P. Francis reappointed, when a temporary reconciliation between Hastings and Francis took place.

(8). See Letter of Government dated 4th July, 1805, to Acting President of Board of Revenue.

per annum as malikana for Pergunnah Bulliah; that is to say, a fixed money payment conferred on a dispossessed owner, in acknowledgment of his proprietary right, and as compensation for the deprivation of possession.

At the permanent settlement, five estates, having an area of about 16,000 acres, were settled with the Rajah by Mr. Duncan, at a revenue of Rs. 24,165.

The annual allowance to the Rajah was, in Section XVII., Clause 4, Regulation II. of 1795, called a *pension* (9). After the death of Bhooabul Deo, in 1803 A. D., the annual allowance was continued to his son, Ishree Buksh, who died in 1806. On the accession of Rajah Dulgunjun Singh, who succeeded, it was reduced; and in the time of Hurruk Nath Deo, who became Rajah in 1825, it was entirely stopped. Various unsuccessful attempts to procure a renewal of the grant have since been made.

The present Rajah, Thakoor Pershad Narain, a boy about ten years old, succeeded his father in 1861 A. D. He is miserably poor, as all the estates of the family were sold by his ancestors to the Rajah of Domraon. A couple of small villages conferred on his father by Government for good conduct during the disturbances of 1857-58, and 500 beegahs of land allowed to him by the Domraon Rajah at a moderate rent, is all that remains to support the dignity of a family once illustrious and powerful, and still, in their fallen estate, ranking higher in popular estimation than even the house of the Rajah of Domraon, who is the possessor of immense estates, and can boast a pedigree of eighty-six generations from the greatest of Indian Kings.

Some villages in the Bulliah Pergunnah belong to fraternities of the Hyobuns tribe. Any of the clan whom I have seen have been more swarthy than the generality of Rajpoots, and their features are not of the Aryan type; so that possibly a suggestion which has been thrown out by Mr. P. Carnegy, that this so-called Rajpoot tribe is really an aboriginal Tamul race, may have some foundation.

(2). The Ponwar or Oujein Rajpoots.

The large talooqa of Sheopoor Dear, Pergunnah Bulliah, belongs to a brotherhood of Oojein or Ponwar Rajpoots, of the Agnicula (10) race, and there are some fraternities of the tribe in the Doabeh and Mahaitch Pergunnahs.

The Oojeins of two villages—Dyapursutha and Dharaon—in the latter pergunnah became Mussulmans during the empire of the Moguls.

The head of the clan is the Rajah of Domraon: he traces back his pedigree eighty-six generations, from Rajah Bikramadutt, or Bikramajeet, from whom the Sumbut era of the Hindoos is reckoned. Of these ancestors, sixty-nine were the rulers of Oojein in Malwa; and the first settler in the Bhojpoor Pergunnah of Shahabad was Rajah Sameo Sah, from whom the present Rajah, Maheshur Buksh, is the seventeenth in descent.

The Rajah of Domraon owns nearly the entire of Doabeh Pergunnah, which, at the permanent settlement, belonged to Shahabad; and as he and his ancestors have purchased many estates in other pergunnahs, he is now the largest proprietor in the district.

A Bhoinhar family of Panree Brahmins, settled at Byreeah in Doabeh Pergunnah, have for generations past been the Tehsoeldars, or land-agents, of the Domraon family.

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(9). Government, in 1788 A. D., ruled that annual grants given to persons with whom it had been intended to settle tracts of country, but with regard to whom the intention was not carried out, as incompatible with the arrangements made with Rajah Maheep Narain of Benares, should be considered life-pensions: see Section III. Regulation XXXIV., of 1795 A. D.

(10). According to the Hindoos, on the occasion of the Rishees being attacked by demons at Mount Aboo, four clans of Rajpoots were created from fire—and thence called Agnibuns—in their defence of these; three—*viz*, the Chauhans, Ponwars, and Puriharbuns—are met with in the Ghazeepoor District.

They are now themselves a very wealthy and powerful family ; and became, by auction-purchase, owners of extensive estates in Pergunnahs Khureed, Kopachit, and Mahaitch. The Domraon estates are badly managed ; the tenantry are always discontented, and the Rajah never has a rupee to spare. The present Rajah, Maheshur Buksh, with a view of adopting the life of a religious recluse, made an attempt to resign in favour of his son, which Government would not confirm.

From want of energy of mind, and possibly of physical courage, he is sometimes called the Bunniah Rajah, and has not much influence in the country. His kinsman, Baboo Kooar Singh, a man of embarrassed means, but of great courage and energy, was always looked upon as the real Chief of the Oojein tribe: as is well known, he became a conspicuous rebel, was shot crossing the Ganges, and died in his house at Jugdispoor.

The great Rajah Siladitya, who in the beginning of the seventh century, overthrew the Gupta dynasty, was Rajah of Malwa, and no doubt belonged to this clan. His name is not to be found in the Domraon pedigree. This, however, is easily accounted for, owing to the common practice of styling the same person by more than one name. Thus, King Asoka, in his columns, is called Pryadersi ; and most of the Gupta sovereigns had two names. Pergunnah Bhojpoor, in Shahabad, is said to take its name from Bhoj Rajah, tenth in descent from Rajah Bikramadutt. It is inhabited by a numerous clan of the Oojein Ponwars.

(3). Seyngurh.

An important and interesting branch of the Seyngurh tribe of Rajpoots occupy part of Zuhoorabad and the whole of the adjacent Pergunnah of Luknesur. The Seyngurhs state that their ancestor Hurree and Beer Thakoors, came from Phuphoond of Zillah Etawah (11), and took service with the Bhur Rajah of the northern part of the district. On one occasion, having been struck by the Rajah, they and their adherents attacked and killed him and took possession of the country. The descendants of Hurree Thakoor occupied Luknesur Pergunnah. Those of Beer Thakoor are settled partly in Pergunnah Zuhoorabad, and partly in a portion of Secunderpoor, in the Azimgurh District, which, prior to 1840 A. D., was included in the Kopachit Pergunnah of this district. Fifteen generations are counted from the time of the first founders of the clan to the present day.

The Seyngurhs are all devoted to the worship of a deified member of the tribe named Amur Singh, who lived, I believe, about two hundred years ago. He is worshipped under the designation of Nath Baba, and several temples to his honour have been erected in Russerah, the chief village of Pergunnah Luknesur. An account of his history and worship will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Before the establishment of the British authority, the Seyngurhs of Luknesur had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for courage, independence, and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first year of our administration. When Mr. Duncan, Resident of Benares, visited the pergunnah, arrows were fired at his body-guard from the forts of the Seyngurhs. This offence was pardoned by Mr. Duncan, whose forbearance and moderation were only surpassed by his abilities. Murders committed in a blood-feud were condoned. The entire pergunnah was settled as the undivided estate of the whole clan with their Chowdhrees or headmen, on the same easy terms on which they had previously held it under the Rajah of Benares and the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. The Seyngurhs, nevertheless, failed in paying the Government revenue; and the Collector of Benares, in 1798, was obliged to proceed against them with military force. With some trouble he arrested the Chowdhrees, reduced them to submission,

(11). For an account of the Etawah Seyngurhs, see Mr. A. O. Hume's Report on the Census of 1865, A. D.

induced them to agree to pay an enhanced revenue, and levelled their forts. On their failing to pay this enhanced revenue, the pergunnah was sold by auction for balances to the Rajah of Benares. The Rajah in vain attempted to get possession; and subsequently the sale was cancelled by the order of Government, and the Seyngurhs re-admitted to settlement on their former revenue.

No detailed record of ownership has hitherto been prepared for this pergunnah, but it is now in course of preparation. The properties of the different shareholders are intermixed in a most intricate manner.

No decree of the Civil Court giving possession to any purchaser by auction or by private sale has ever been executed, owing to the impossibility of identifying the property of any one of the proprietors. The Seyngurhs have abandoned their old habits of contumacy and insubordination; they behaved well during the mutiny, and are now peaceful and loyal citizens.

Their chief town, Russerah, contains a population of 5,689, and is a place of great trade.

(4). The Dikhits.

A branch of the Dikhit (12) clan of Soorujbuns Rajpoots—who state that their ancestor, Manik Rao, about twenty generations ago, came from the Boolundshuhur District—occupy nearly the whole of Puchotur Pergunnah, where they are called Puchtorias, and some villages in the Bussar Tuppah of Shadeeabad.

(5). Guhurwars.

The greater part of Pergunnah Mahaitch, south of the Ganges, belongs to a tribe of Guhurwar Soorujbuns Rajpoots, who claim descent from Baboo Kooar Manik Chund Singh (13), a cadet of the family of the Rajah of Kuntit in the Mirzapore District. He is stated to have been in the military employment of the Emperors of Delhi, and to have taken the pergunnah at a higher revenue than the Brahmins who had held it before him; and who it appears probable, were the descendants of some of the Brahmins of the Gupta period.

The villages held by the Guhurwars are divided into three *turufs*, called by the names of Kooar Singh's three sons,—Seedhun, Jumdurug, and Radha Rai.

Two or three centuries ago, ten of the descendants of Seedhun Rai entered into a warlike confederation, and built eight forts, the ruins of which still remain at Dhanapoor, the chief village of the pergunnah: they, by force of arms, extended on every side the limits of the pergunnah and their own property.

During the government of the first Rajah of Benares—Bulwant Singh, one of the Guhurwars,—Baboo Murdun Singh was his deputy in the government of the pergunnah. He is described as a man of great liberality; who in a famine which occurred in Sumbut 1819 (A. D. 1763) (14), when five seers of peas or gram sold for a rupee, daily fed hundreds of every caste with food cooked by Brahmins.

The Guhurwars of the pergunnah have retained about half of the one hundred and eighty-four villages formerly owned by them; but the chief village of the clan, Dhanapoor, though still nominally their property, is irretrievably mortgaged. One small branch of the clan became Mahomedans during the empire of the Moguls.

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(12) For an account of the Dikhits of Dikhitana in Oudh, see Elliott's History of Oonao.

(13.) Manik Chund was a great Kuntit Rajah of the Guhurwars, and the tradition which ascribes this name to the founder of the Mahaitch clan is very possibly not correct

(14) In the Pergunnah Records, 1819 Sumbut is mentioned as the year in which the famine occurred, but in other parts of the country there are recordswhich show that the great famine of Sumbat 1825 or 1769 A. D., described by Mr. W. W. Hunter in "Rural Bengal" was very severely felt in this district.

For several generations past all connection between the branch of the Guhurwars in Mahaitch and the parent clan of Kuntit has ceased, and the members of the two branches will not eat together. There is also a small colony of Guhurwar Rajpoots in the Puchotur Pergunnah.

(6). The Gowtums of Kurrendah.

Proceeding north of the Ganges from Mahaitch, we find in Pergunnah Kurrendah, a very numerous clan of Gowtum Sombuns or Luna Rajpoots, who own the greater part of the pergunnah. These Gowtums trace their descent from the main branch of the clan, which has its head-quarters at Argul, in Pergunnah Korah of the Futtehpore District. They appear to have settled in this district about four or five hundred years ago; and are stated to have conquered and expelled the Seorees, under the leadership of Birnee and Ijree Kooar, Gowtum Chiefs.

The Gowtums in four villages became Mussulmans during the empire of the Moguls. The settlement of the head village of Pergunnah Mainpoor was concluded with the head-man; not, as in other estates throughout the district, in the name of the entire proprietary body, but as sole owner. The result of this procedure has been a long-continued feud and frequent litigation between him and the descendants of shareholders, now reduced to the position of cultivators.

(7). The Lowtumea.

Pergunnah Doabeh, which formerly, till A. D. 1838, was a tuppah of Beheea Pergunnah in the Shahabad District, is principally occupied by a clan calling themselves Lowtumea Rajpoots.

They were formerly owners of the pergunnah, but from time to time it has passed away from them, and is now almost entirely owned, as has been before stated, by the Rajah of Domraon. They hold a large number of villages on lease from him; and, as the soil is peculiarly productive, many of them are wealthy. They are a sturdy, independent race, and addicted to feuds and affrays of a serious character. Their origin is doubtful, and they are thought to rank very low amongst Rajpoots: many of them are closely associated with the organized gangs of Dosadh robbers for whom this pergunnah is famous. Not long since an immense amount of valuable Punjab and Cashmere cloths was recovered from the house of a Lowtumea of great apparent respectability,—the nephew of a Soobahdar in the Army. Beyreah, the chief village of the Lowtumeas, contains a population of 6,766.

SUB-SECTION.

The four Rajpoot Clans of Pergunnah Khureed.

Pergunnah Khureed is divided between four numerous and influential clans of Rajpoots:—

The Neikoombhs of Tuppah Reotee.

The Kinwars of Tuppah Suhutwar.

The Nerowlias of Tuppah Bansdeeh.

The Berwars of Tuppahs Muneear and Mujhose.

(8). The Neikoombhs of Tuppah Reotee.

Of them, the Neikoombhs occupy the Reotee Tuppah, adjacent to Doabeh. They state themselves to be descended from Bekrum Deo, the brother of Rajah Akhraj Deo, of Oonwul, Pergunnah Kutgurra, of Goruckpoor, who, some centuries ago, came to the shrine of the Rishee Bhoirg, near the confluence of the Surjoo and the Ganges at Bulliah, and, liking the country, founded a colony at Reotee. The Neikoombhs claim to be a branch of the Soorujbuns of Ajoodhya. The title of Sirneth, by which the Goruckpoor clan is called, was, it is said, given to this tribe by one of the Emperors of Delhi, from the following incident. The Neikoombhs then, as now, only raised the hand to the head, and never bowed the head when making their obeisance. The Emperor, annoyed by this apparent want of

respect of some Neikoombh Chiefs in attendance at his court, ordered that before their entrance a sword should be placed across the doorway in such a manner that they on entering his presence should be compelled to stoop. Some of the Neikoombh Chiefs, maintaining their upright position, were decapitated : the Emperor, satisfied with this exhibition of their firmness and determination, permitted them in future to make their salaams in their own fashion, and gave to them the title of Sirneth (15).

There are, I believe, in the Goruckpore and Bustee Districts, three Rajahs of the Sirneth tribe at Oonwal, Bansee, and Rooderpoor. The Neikoombhs of Reotee are very anxious to maintain their connection with the parent stock, and four or five generations ago their head man, Baboo Rugho Nath Singh, went to Oonwal and planted groves and dug wells there. The Neikoombhs hold a very high rank among Rajpoots, and the late Rajah of Huldee was married to a Neikoombh lady.

Owing to the destructive action of the Ganges, before it left the Boorhgung channel (*vide* Chapter I.) and owing to internal dissensions, caused by the absence of any detailed record of proprietary rights and liabilities, the Neikoombhs fell into arrears ; and the greater part of their estate was sold by auction for Government revenue, and purchased by the Panree family Beyreah. During the disturbances of 1857-58, they became, under the leadership of Baboo Bahadoor Singh open and formidable rebels : under the amnesty their offences were condoned. They are one of the most noble-looking races in the district, and are generally well-disposed, and on good terms with the district officials. They would nevertheless, I have little doubt join in any general rebellion ; as they like so many of the most influential and manly of the tribes in the district, have little to lose, and everything to gain by any up-heaving of the present state of things. Reotee, their chief village, contains a population of 6,979.

A small branch of the Neikoombhs became Mussulmans during the Empire.

A branch of the tribe is settled in the Ghazeepoor Pergunnah.

(9.) The Kinwar of Tuppah Suhutwar or Muhutpal.

There are two tribes of Kinwars in the district,—the Rajpoot Kinwars of Tuppah Suhutwar or Mohutpal, Pergunnah Khureed ; and the Bhoinhar Kinwars of Mahomedabad and Dehma.

Mr. P. Carnegy, in his "Notes on the Races, Tribes, and Castes of Oudh," mentions the Kinwar as a tribe whose origin is unknown. I therefore think it better to give an abstract of some of the traditions of the tribe which I have heard ; without thereby implying that I think them worthy of credit.

The Suhutwar Kinwars, state that a great Rajah of the Dikhits, an off-shoot from the Soorujbuns of Ajoodhia, named Mân Dikhit, lived at Man Chutur Asthan on the Jumna.

The descendants of Mân Dikhit proceeded to the far south, and established a dynasty at Puddumpore in Karnata, or the Carnatic, which lasted for twelve generations.

It came to pass that the Guhurwar Rajah of Benares was at war with a Rajah of the Bhoinhar Gowtums, and two brothers, young cadets of the Puddumpore Dikhits, took service each with one of the rival Chiefs.

After a time, peace was restored, and the Guhurwar Rajah having given his daughter in marriage to one of the brothers, Beijul the other brother, Meipal, was sought as a son-in-law by the Bhoinhar Rajah.

(15.) Perhaps the name Sirneth is derived from the Sanskrit सरि "head," and नेट "a leader," or from the Persian سر نیست *sir neet*, "headless."

From Beijul are descended the Rajpoot, and from Meipal the Bhoinhar Kinwars.

The name of the tribe claims to be derived from one of its real or imaginary settlements of by-gone times, *viz.*, Dunkin, on the Dunkin River.

It is, I believe, generally acknowledged that there was, about 800 years ago, a Guhurwar dynasty at Benares ; but, as far as I am aware, no tradition of any Bhoinhar Rajahs of the period is in existence, and it is highly improbable that at that early period there were any such.

The Kinwar Bhoinhars know nothing of the origin ascribed to them by the Rajpoots of the tribe. They state that they came from Karnat Puddumpoor, but are not aware that there is a country called Karnata, and suppose Karnat Puddumpoor to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

The Kinwars of Suhutwar state that they obtained their present possessions by a grant from the Oojein Rajah of Bhojpoor, whose daughter the first founder of their clan, Koolkool Sah, married. There were formerly three other head-quarters of the tribe in the neighbourhood ; but the Suhutwar people conquered them, deprived them of their possessions, and reduced them to the condition of cultivators. The population of Suhutwar is 8,301 ; it is the seat of a very extensive sugar manufacture, and a place of great trade.

There is a strong offshoot of the Kinwars in the Bulliah Pergunnah, where they own the large Talooqas of Chatta and Sare.

(10). The Nurowlia Rajpoots of Bansdeeh.

The Nurowlia Rajpoots, occupying the Bansdeeh Tuppah of Khureed, were described by Mr. C. Raikes, the Settlement Officer of the District, in 1840-41, as " the most influential tribe of Rajpoots in the district."

They state that they are a branch of the Puriharbuns, one of the four races of Agnicular Rajpoots, and that they are called Nurowlia from Nurwul (possibly Nurwul in the Gwalior territory), where they state there is or till recently was a Rajah of the tribe. Another branch of the tribe is settled in the Sarun District. The Nurowlia appear to have been the first of the four Rajpoot tribes to settle in the pergunnah. The first founders of the clan were, it is said, Khegol and Minyal Deo, who took service with the Cheroo Rajah Maheepa; and, on his insulting them, intoxicated and murdered him. The Nurowlias are inordinately proud, passionate, and extravagant. They have lost a considerable amount of their property, but still retain probably more than half of their original possessions.

Their chief village, Bansdeeh, contains a population of 6,246. Sookhpoora and Kharownee are important talooqas belonging to them.

(11) The Berwars of Tuppah Mujhose and Muneear.

The Berwars of the two tuppahs of Mujhose and Muneear, both claim descent from the Tomurs of Delhi. They came into the pergunnah under the auspices of the Nurowlias, and appear to have helped them in expelling the Cheroos (16).

They state that after leaving Delhi they colonized a part of the Azimgurh District, and thence entered Khureed, and that the name of Berwar is derived from Bernuggur, the name of a former chief village of the tribe. A branch of the Berwars are settled at Deochandpore in the Sydpoor Pergunnah, and at Bareepoor in the Chupra District. A large talooqa belonging to the tribe was made over as a jagheer to Kuntoo Baboo, the Dewan of Warren Hastings.

At first the rights of the Jagheerdar were of an undefined nature; but in the

(16.) It is worthy of remark that from the Census Reports of the Agra and other neighbouring districts, it appears that the Tomurs after leaving Delhi went to Nurwul in Gwalior; and in the district we find them first coming as the allies of a tribe who came from Nurwul, and were called after that place.

settlement proceedings of 1840-42 he was constituted the recipient of what would otherwise have been the Government revenue, and a sub-settlement was made with the Berwars.

Tuppah Muncear, constituted at the permanent settlement a joint undivided estate, was sold by auction for Government revenue by the Collector of Benares in 1815 A. D. The owners, on the day of sale, tendered the amount of the balance; but were not aware that, in addition to the original balance, a trifling amount of interest had accrued. They asked one day's grace to enable them to procure this sum. They were refused; the estate was sold for half a lakh of rupees to Baboo Sheo Narain Singh, father of Rajah Sir Deo Narain Singh: an offer of Rs. 99,000 from one of the shareholders was refused. A few years afterwards, Government, regretting the calamity brought on a large tract of country through the want of forbearance of their representative, bought back the tuppah at four times the original auction price, and resettled it with the old Zemindars at Rs. 10,000 per annum enhanced revenue, as to give Government five per cent. on the outlay.

The tuppah was afterwards divided into smaller estates. Some of the shareholders were unable to pay the enhanced revenue, balances again accrued, and, for the last twenty-six years, the owners of a part of the tuppah have been out of possession, and their estate held direct by Government. Arrangements have now been made for terminating this state of things, and for restoring their estates to the owners. The Collector of Benares, Mr. W. O. Salmon, by granting a single day's grace for the payment of a trifling amount, would have saved the people of the tuppah from fifty-four years of poverty, disquiet, and discomfort, and from a perpetual payment of £1,000, or Rs. 10,000 per annum; and he would have spared the Revenue Officers of Government fifty-four years of profitless labour.

It is worthy of notice that the Berwars of Mujhose and of Muncear Tuppahs, though they claim a common origin, are entirely distinct from each other. They will only eat together on the occasion of some great gathering, when the people of the other clans of the pergunnah are present. The population of Muncear, the chief town of the Berwar, is 6,124. It is the seat of an extensive grain trade.

(12). The Kakuns.

The tribe of Kakun Rajpoots in Pergunnah Shadeeabad is numerous, and fifty-eight estates were settled with them at the permanent settlement. They state that, about fifteen generations ago, the founder of the clan, Ruttun Rai, came from Mhowaldamhow, (16A.) expelled the Bhurs, and took possession of the country which they now hold.

(13.) The Kurchoolias.

In Pergunnah Kopachit there is a very numerous tribe, who call themselves Kurchoolia Rajpoots, occupying about 200 villages. They state that they are descended from the Seesodya Sombuns, Rajpoots of the Humeerpoor District, who, in the first instance, were an offshoot from the family of the Rajah of Chitoor in Rajpootana. They state that the name of Kurchoolia is derived from the Sanskrit *kur*, "a hand," and *chulana*, "to let drive;" and that it was a title of honour conferred on them by the Emperor Allah-ood-Deen on account of their valour.

The first founder of the Kopachit colony was Hem Shah, and they give the names of eighteen generations of their ancestors from Hem Shah to the present day.

(14). The Kowsiks.

The Kowsiks of Talooqa Chit, of Kopachit Pergunnah, are a race of Sombuns or Lunar Rajpoots. They claim descent from Rajah Gadh. According to the accounts of the western Kowsiks, Kanouj was built by a son of Gadh, and was called Gadhipoor; but, according to the tradition prevalent everywhere in this district, Rajah Gadh was the founder of Ghazeepoor, which after him was called Gadhipoor.

(16A.) In the Fyzabad District.

The tradition is probably quite unfounded; there is no reason to suppose that any town existed at the site of Ghazeepoor previous to the Mahomedan conquest. Myths of this kind are frequently invented by the Hindoos to account for the names of places. Thus, Rajah Bunar (17) is invented to account for the name Benares; and, to prevent the Mahomedans from obtaining the credit of having given the name to Zumaneah Pergunnah, a Riki Jumduggun is imagined as the person from whom the first name of the pergunnah is derived.

The Sukurwar tribes of Zamaneah, as well as the Kowsiks of Kopachit, claim Rajah Gadh as their ancestor.

According to the Kowsik traditions, two brothers—Del Chund and Sel Chund—founded,—the first the Chit clan; the second the family of the Rajah of Gopalpoor in the Goruckpoor District.

Although the Kowsiks are themselves idolators, yet their gooroos or spiritual guides belong to a sect of monotheists peculiar to this district, called the Bheka Shahees, which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. (17A.)

Their entire estates were sold for Government revenue, and purchased by the Panrees of Beyreah. After this they became notorious for insubordination and the perpetration of violent crimes. They murdered the agent of the auction-purchaser (18) on the 15th November, 1840 A. D.; and a large number of them (thirty-seven) were for this crime sentenced to imprisonment for life, and sent to the Alipoor Jail, where it may be, after nearly thirty years, some of them are still prisoners.

During the disturbances of 1857-58 they gave much trouble. After the mutinies were over, arrangements were made by the district authorities with the Panrees of Beyreah,—who are also, as before mentioned, in possession of the property of the Neikoombh Rajpoots of Reotee,—for the restoration of the talooqa to the original owners, on payment of Rs. 60,000. This transfer has been attended with the happiest results. The Kowsiks are now amongst the most loyal and peaceable citizens in the district.

(15). Murwars.

At about the same time as the Ponwars of Oojein, a clan of Rajpoots from Marwar, called from the place of their origin Murwars, settled in this part of India.

They have planted colonies in this district in Pergunnah Puchotur, and in Zumaneah, where they occupy several villages in the upland country adjacent to the Karumnasa River.

They have also settlements beyond the Karumnasa in Chynpoor, of Shahabad, and in three villages in Beheea Pergunnah of the same district, on the site of the great old city of Musar; and still further east, in Pergunnah Surseo, of the Gya District.

The Murwars, both in this district and in Beheea, are a manly race, but do not show very marked signs of an Aryan origin. Their largest property in this district

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(17.) I should mention that some archæologists believe that there actually was a King of Benares called Bunar.

(17A.) They say that, of course, being householders, they cannot be expected to deviate from the common practice of idol worship.

(18.) The following extract occurs in the letter of the Commissioner to Government:—"Despair at having lost their property, combined with a strong aversion to the particular individual appointed by the new proprietor to the management of the estate, conduced to promote that feeling of opposition and defiance which has terminated in the seizure, and apparently the deliberate murder of the obnoxious person, and the destruction of his property, together with all papers and accounts bearing evidence of their liabilities."

talooqa Gai Ghât, passed into the hands of the Amil Deokeenundun; but, fortunately for them, he sold it; and they now enjoy repose and comparative affluence under the beneficent ownership of the Maharajah of Vizianagram.

(16). Sukurwars.

The entire of the eastern portion of Pergunnah Zumaneah is occupied by the Sukurwar tribe, which I should think is the most numerous Hindoo land-owning tribe in the district, except the Kinwar Bhoinhars of Mahomdabad.

The Sukurwars, it is stated, were originally Misser Brahmins, and came from the vicinity of Futtehpoor Sikree. They claim descent, as before-mentioned, from the mythical Gadh Rajah; and state that he had four sons—Achul, Abchul, Sarun, and Rohie.

The last two of these sons settled in the Shahabad District, and colonized the tracts of country Saringa and Rohunea, where their descendants are settled as Bhoinhar Sukurwars.

The descendants of Achul are Bhoinhars, residing in Sohwul, Rumwal Putkunia, and other villages in the north-east of the pergunnah.

Abchul had two sons—Sainoo and Poorun Mull.

The first of these founded a numerous and powerful clan, acknowledged as *Rajpoots*, occupying the large village of Guhmur, and other villages adjacent in the south-east. The descendants of Poorun Mull form a very numerous clan, considered *Bhoinhars*, occupying the village of Sherpoor, which has a population of 10,388, and of Rooteepoor which has a population of 9,398. These villages are not places of any trade,—and are principally inhabited by the Zemindars of the Sherpoor Rooteepoor Talooqa, an estate having an area of 29,745 acres, and a land revenue of Rs. 25,000 per annum.

One of the descendants of Poorun Mull, named Murhur Rai, ten generations ago, became a Mussulman; and from him are descended a tribe of Nau-Moslems, occupying fourteen villages on the banks of the Karumnasa, in the south of the pergunnah, and called Kumsar. It is worthy of remark that of sixteen towns and villages in the district, having a population of more than 5,000, four are villages in Zumaneah occupied by Rajpoot, Bhoinhar or Mussulman Sukurwars.

The Sukurwar Bhoinhars occupy a very fertile tract of low-land country. They are generally rich, and have retained the greater part of their hereditary property.

The estates of the Rajpoot Sukurwars are almost all on the less productive upland of the pergunnah; and, though they have retained nearly whole of their property, they are as a rule poor.

The Guhmur Zemindars* who hold 12,433 acres, at the low revenue of Rs. 7,420, have from the commencement of our rule to the disarmament, been notorious for their insubordination. After the permanent settlement their headman, Abdhoot Rai, was for long in open rebellion; their property was declared forfeited to Government; but after some years their offences were condoned and their proprietary right restored. During the mutinies, the rebel Meygur Rai, of Guhmur, was the terror of the district. Since the disarmament of 1859, they have been peaceable, and are, I believe, now a well-disposed set of men. The population of Guhmur is 8,797. A very large part of the property of the Kumsar or Mussulman Sukurwars has passed

* During the time when auctions on account of balances of land revenue were in full swing, the proprietary rights of the Guhmur zemindars were not existent, having been confiscated; and those of another branch of the Sukurwar Rajpoots, in Talooqa Sheoraich, were in abeyance, as the estate was held under direct Government management: hence it was that these estates escaped the hammer.

away from them. The Amil Deokeeundun by one means or other got possession of the chief village, Oosea. The ex-Zemindars, who are a revengeful race, and have suffered many wrongs at the hands of the Amil and his descendants, were notorious for the active part they took in the rebellion, and before the rebellion they had murdered two of the land agents of Deokeenundun's family. Negociations were opened for the restoration of their property in the same way as was done in the case of Talooqa Chit, but these unfortunately were unsuccessful; and consequently Oosea remains, as it has been for sixty years past, a focus of discontent and secret disaffection.

(17 and 18). The Soorujbuns and Burgyan Rajpoots of Zuhoorabad.

The Soorujbuns of Zuhoorabad claim to be the descendants of Hunkar and Nurkur Rai, who settled in the pergunnah and expelled the Raj Bhurs. They are a flourishing tribe, and have retained most of their estates.

The Burgyan Rajpoots state that they are Chowhan Rajpoots from the Mynpoorie District, and received the title of Burgyan as a recognition of some of their ancestors having done a great work, "*kam burra kia.*" Most of their estates were sold for balances of land revenue by Mr. Salmon, the Collector of Benares, to the Rajah of Domraon, between fifty and sixty years ago. They are now poor and discontented.

Both the Soorujbuns and Burgyans of Zuhoorabad, as well as the Murwars and Donwars of Zumaneah and the Kowsiks of Kopachit, state fifty-two as the number of their villages. This number appears, in the Ghazeepoor District, to have something of the same charm about it which the numbers 360 and 84, as has been pointed out by Sir H. Elliot, have in the North-West Provinces generally. In this district, 360 is mentioned as the number of the Kinwar Bhoinhars' villages in the Mahomedabad and Dehwa Pergunnahs, and there is a *chowrassy* of Kurchoolia Rajpoots in Pergunnah Kopachit.

(19). The Beis.

The Beis Rajpoots, of Pergunnah Buhuriabad, who own ten or twelve villages, state that they are descended from Bughel Rai, who fourteen or fifteen generations ago came from Beiswarra and colonized the country, which he found a jungle.

(20). The Donwar Rajpoots.

The Donwar Rajpoots hold five large villages in Pergunnah Gurha, and twelve villages in Sydpoor, and there is a powerful clan of them in the Ghazeepoor Pergunnah. They have also colonies in Pergunnahs Khanpoor, Buhuriabad, and Bulliah. They are described by Sir H. Elliot as a mixed Rajpoot Brahmin tribe, who at one time founded a principality in Western Tirhoot. In this district the Rajpoots are quite distinct from the Bhoinhar Donwars. The Donwar Rajpoots whom I have seen are of a dark complexion, and have not Aryan features. The Gurha branch of the clan, during the disturbances of 1857-58, burned and plundered an indigo factory, and took an active part in the rebellion. The Bulliah Donwars own all rights of fishery and of other spontaneous products of the great Sooraha Lake. The heir of Amil Deokeenundun, who is in possession of a fourth of their state, actually enjoys almost the entire profits of it.

(21). The Rughoobuns Rajpoots.

The Rughoobuns Rajpoots of Pergunnah Khanpoor are a branch of a very numerous and powerful clan, who hold the Dobee Pergunnah of Jounpoor, and Pergunnahs Kuttehar, Barah, and Mahooaree, of Benares. In the time of the great Rajah Domon Deo, of Chundrowtee, who flourished during the reign of the Emperor Sher Shah, the Rughoobuns of Kuttehar, crossing the Goomtee, took possession of ten villages, which they still hold.

(22). The Sookulbuns.

There is a colony of Sookulbuns Rajpoots near the centre of Zumaneah Pergunnah occupying three talooqas. One of their villages, Nawal, contains upwards of five thousand inhabitants.

The Sookulbuns on the first establishment of our rule gave a good deal of trouble. In 1787, the Amil of the pergunnah arrested one of them, who was a revenue defaulter, and inflicting corporal punishment on him kept him in custody. The man after a few days died. The next time the Amil went near their villages they turned out in a strong body, armed with bows and arrows, and drove him off. Mr. Treves, the Assistant Resident of Benares, was deputed to the pergunnah by Mr. Duncan in January, 1788, and with difficulty quieted the disturbances; and subsequently levelled the forts of the Sookulbuns, and cut down the dense jungle by which their villages was surrounded.

Their estates have nearly entirely passed away from them into the hands of Benares bankers and Ghazeepoor Pathan pleaders. The latter have announced a deliberate intention of ultimately ousting the former proprietors from the whole of the land in their cultivating occupancy, and they employ all the resources of the law to effect their purpose. They sue for the money value of their share of grain produced in lands held on grain rents, at exorbitant rates. These suits are commonly dismissed or modified in the Revenue Courts, but on appeal decreed in full in the Civil Court. In 1868, owing to the loss sustained from these decrees, the Sookulbuns resigned four hundred acres of the land held by them at grain rents, and in which they had occupancy rights.

A perjury case, in which the vakeels were, on the evidence of the Sookulbuns, convicted by the Judge, was—through the exertions of Mr. W. Tayler and the vehemence of the *Friend of India*—a *cause celebré* in 1862-63.

Other tribes.

No particular remarks are necessary with regard to the small colonies of Besain, Guhlote, Mahowrba, Chowhan, and other Rajpoots who are met with in the district. The Besains of Kopachit are the most numerous of them, and hold ten or twelve villages in the north of the pergunnah.

SECTION X.

Detailed Account of Bhoinhar Tribes.

The following Tabular Statement will show the distribution of the Bhoinhar Tribes in the District, and the principle of classification which has been adopted in describing them.

	Name of Tribe.	Headmen of Tribe.	Pergunnah occupied by the main train of Tribe in the District.	Pergunnah in which branches of the tribe are formed.
Tribes predominant in a pergunnah.	1. Kinwar	Ex-Zemindars, Baboos of Beerpoor and the Baboos of Korresur and Narainpoor.	Pergunnahs Mahomedabad and Dehma ...	Converted Kinwars, in Talooqa Barah of Zumaneah.
	2. Bemwar	The Chowdhrees, Baboos of Nurhee ...	Ditto Gurha.	
Tribes predominant in a division of a pergunnah.	3. Sukurwar...	Lumberdars of Sherpoor and Reoteepoor ...	Talooqas Sherpoor, Reoteepoor, and adjacent parts in east of Zumaneah.	
	4. Kinwar Mussulmans Sukurwars ...	Lumberdars of Oosea and Ruksaha.	14 villages on the Karumnasa, in the south of Zumaneah.	
	5. Donwar	Lumberdars of Barunpore	52 villages in the west of Zumaneah.	
	6. Kustwar	... ...	26 villages of Mahomedabad.	
Smaller colonies of Bhoinhar Tribes.	7. Kowsik	... ...	Tuppah Belapoor	Shadeeabad.
	8. Aswaria	... ...	Tuppah Chowrassee	

(1.) The Kinwar Bhoinhars.

The Kinwar Bhoinhars of Pergunnahs Mahomedabad and Gurha state that their ancestors came from Karnat Puddumpoor (as before mentioned), which they suppose to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Delhi,—but which, according to the written accounts of the Kinwar Rajpoots, is situated in the Carnatic,—and took service with Teekum Deo, the Cheroo Rajah, whom they subsequently supplanted. There are three great divisions of the tribes, called after their ancestors Rajdhur, Mukoond, and Pithour Rai.

In the Rajdhur Rai sept there was formerly for a few generations a Rajah who had his fort at Beerpoor.

A branch of this sept settled in Talooqa Barah, in Pergunnah Zumanoah, south of the Ganges, and became Mussulmans. The village of Barah is a poor decayed place, but contains a population of 5,401. The Barah Talooqa, and nearly the whole of the Beerpoor Talooqa, were sold for balances accruing through internal disputes, and bought, the first by Furzund Ali Amil, the second by a Deputy Collector.

The entire of the estates of Furzund Ali were sold by his descendants, who are now in poverty, to Moonshee Bence and Choonee Lall, wealthy Bankers of Benares, formerly Government servants.

The heirs of the Mahomedan Deputy Collector, through extravagance and mismanagement, are in hopeless debt. The Barah ex-Zemindars are poor, but many of the former proprietors of Beerpoor are large cultivators, lend money, and are possessed of considerable wealth (19).

The sept of Mukoond Rai, though in rank it comes after that of Rajdhur Rai, is far before it in wealth and influence. The Zemindars of Koresur and of Naraynpoor, who take the rank of Baboo, are the heads of this branch of the clan. One of the Naraynpoor Zemindars, Baboo Ajaib Singh, was for two or three years Naib under Rajah Maheep Narain Singh over the entire Province of Benares. His sons, Baboo Sheo Purshin Singh, Sheo Ruttun Singh, and Sheo Umber Singh, were Amils after the permanent settlement, and had a strong fort at Pindera, north of Benares. They had much influence with the Rajah Maheep Narain, as his grandmother, Rance Goolab Kooar, was related to their family.

The Amils joined in the conspiracy of Wuzeer Ali, the ex-King of Oudh, which terminated in the murder of Mr. Cherry, the Resident of Benares, on the 14th January, 1799. An attempt was made to surprise them in their fort at Pindera, which failed; they escaped, and fled into the jungles of Nepaul. Their property was confiscated. One of the brothers, on a sudden alarm at night, caught hold of his naked sword, which he had placed under his bed; and, forgetting that he had removed the sheath, drew it through his hand under the idea of drawing it; he cut off his hand and bled to death.

The third sept, Pithour Rai, is not worthy of any special mention. The Zemindars of Kureemooddeenpoor, their chief village, who have lost a portion of their estates, were troublesome when Mr. Duncan was Resident in Benares, and are rather a sulky set of people, but now peaceable.

(2.) The Bemwars of Gurha Pergunnah.

The Bemwar Bhoinhars, of Gurha Pergunnah, state that they are descended from Dowun Rai, who came from Bempoor, and settled in Nurwun, Zillah Benares. His son went thence to Sasseram, where the family remained for three generations: they emigrated to Chowsa in the Shahabad District, and after two generations settled in Pergunnah Nurhee.

There are fourteen villages, many of them very large, occupied by the Bemwars; and a most carefully prepared pedigree is in existence, showing the descent of every family in every village, from the founder of the clan.

(19). The Barah people fired on a steamer during the disturbances of 1857-58. The Beerpoor villages during the government of Rajah Cheytte Singh, when the country *nominally* was under the English Government, attacked and wounded English officers from the Buxar garrison.

According to this pedigree, there have been thirty generations from the time of Dowun Rai up to the present day.

The Bemwar Zemindars are, as a rule, in good circumstances. Their principal estate is Nurhee ; the population of the village is 5,338. The Chowhdrees of Nurhee, who are head-men of the clan, were distinguished for their active loyalty during the disturbances of 1857-58; and, owing to the probity of their characters, are much respected in the adjacent pergunnahs. They are men who would be well qualified to act as Magistrates if a simple procedure could be devised for Honorary Magistrates with a small jurisdiction.

One estate owned by the Bemwars, formerly on the north of the deep stream of the Ganges, but now south of it, is, by a recent change in the course of the stream, nearly destroyed. A very large alluvial deposit thrown up north of the present deep stream compensates for this loss.

(3 and 4). The Sukurwar Bhoinhars and Kumsar.

The Bhoinhar and Mahomedan Sukurwars have been discussed in connection with the Rajpoot branch of the tribe.

(5) The Bhoinhar Donwars.

The Bhoinhar Donwars of Pergunnah Zumaneah give the following account of themselves. Dona Chargea, a Pandey Brahmin, and *gooroo* or spiritual guide of the Rajah of Delhi, founded a village in the vicinity of Futtehpoor Sikree, which was called, offer him, Donowlee. His descendants colonized the east of the Azimgurh District, where they were called *Bhuth.* Two of the family—Gooruj and Jhain Bhuth—proceeded south from the Azimghur District. The first of them founded a colony in Pergunnah Nerwun, in the Benares District; the second, Jhain Bhuth, settled in Zumaneah : his descendants are the Bhoinhar Donwars of the pergunnah, and the name " Donwar" is derived through Donowlee from Dona Chargea.

The land occupied by the Donwars is fertile, and they have gained much from the change in the course of river, which have been so destructive to Pergunnah Khurendah. Their habits are frugal and industrious ; and they are, as a rule, in good circumstances. Some of their finest estates were sold in 1799 and the following years by Mr. Routledge, the Collector of Benares, at most inadequate prices, to the Amil Deokeenundun. For example, the estate of Betabur, which paid Government revenue of Rs. 2,525, and which contains some of the finest land in the district, and produces an annual profit of probably more than Rs. 500, was sold to him for Rs. 123-2-0, on account of an alleged balance of Rs. 242. There is reason to believe that the Zemindars of the villages were in this and in other similar cases not aware that their estate was to be put up to auction, or that there was any balance of revenue claimed from them.

The ancestor of Donwars of two or three villages was in the military service of the Emperor, and received from him for his valour the title of Khan, which is borne to the present day by all his descendants.

(6). The Kustwar Bhoinhars.

The Kustwar Bhoinhars, who occupy about 26 villages in Pergunnah Mahomedabad, give an account of themselves which essentially differs from that of any other tribe in the district. All the other clans describe themselves as the descendants of colonists. The Kustwars alone represent themselves as the descendants of the few Brahmins who, prior to the last great Hindoo emigration, remained in the district, surrounded by the aboriginal tribes. They may be regarded as a link which connects the Hindoo occupation of the Gupta era with the Hindoo occupation of the district in modern times.

It is stated that Mandhata,—not the great Rajah of that name, who, according to the Hindoo Shasters, was the first " Chukravarti" or Supreme Rajah in India, but another of the same name,—a brother or cousin of Prithoraj, one of the last Kings of Delhi, was affected with leprosy ; and, when proceeding to Juggernath, he happened to dip his

hand in the water of the Kuttouth tank close to the village of Ghouspoor, where ancient remains are found, and which I believe to be the site of a monastery mentioned by Hionen Thsang. He found that his hand was cured, and afterwards, by an immersion of his whole body, the leprosy was completely cleansed. As a thank-offering for his recovery, he gave to five Brahmins residing near the tank as much land as an elephant could make a circuit of in a day. The Kustwars claimed to be descended from the five Brahmins. The tank between Ghouspoor and Kuttote is to the present day visited by sick people in a hope of experiencing its curative properties. This legend, improbable and absurd as it seems to us, has a wide currency in the district, and is believed both by Hindoos and Mahomedans. The Mahomedans' version of the story, which varies in some important particulars from that given above, will be narrated in a subsequent chapter, as it is intimately connected with the first conquest of the district by them.

(7 and 8). Bhoinhar Kowsiks, and Aswurea.

The Bhoinhar Kowsiks and Aswurea of Zuhoorabad call for no special mentions.

CHAPTER IV.

GHAZEEPOOR UNDER THE MAHOMEDAN GOVERNMENT.

SECTION I.

THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST OF BEHAR AND THE UPPER GANGES VALLEY.

The Ghazeepoor District becomes a part of the Mahomedan Empire, 1193 A. D.

THE year 1193 A. D. is one remarkable in the history of the Mahomedan power. In that year Richard, the *Lion-hearted*, left Palestine, and the third crusade was abandoned; and in that year the whole of Behar, and of what is now known as the North-West Provinces, became, more or less, subject to the Mahomedans. (1.)

Defeat of Raja Jey Chund Ray near Etawah, and his death.

Kootub-ood-Deen Eibuk, the Commander-in-Chief of Mahomed Ghoory, the first Mahomedan King of Delhi, met Jey Chund Ray, the Rahtore Rajah of Kanouj and Benares, on the Jumna, north of Etawah, and completely defeated him. The Rajah, who was at the head of an immense force of cavalry, and had three hundred elephants, when he saw his army retreat, in despair urged on his elephant into the midst of the enemy, and there encountered Kootub-ood-Deen himself, who, a skilful archer, shot an arrow which, piercing the Rajah's eye, caused his death.

Permission was given to the friends of the Rajah to search for his body. The number of slain was so great that it was long ere it could be found; at length it was discovered, and identified by his artificial teeth, fastened in with golden wires, after the fashion of modern dentistry.

The baggage of the Hindoos, and all their elephants,—amongst them a magnificent white one, a unique specimen in Hindoostan,—fell into the hands of the victors. Kootub-ood-Deen presented the white elephant to the King Mahomed, who, on leaving India, returned it to him: the animal became so attached to Kootub-ood-Deen, that on his death it pined away with evident sorrow, and expired in three days.

Capture of Benares.

After the defeat of the Hindoos by his General, Mahomed Ghoory himself proceeded to Benares, and gratified his religious zeal by breaking into fragments the idols in a thousand temples. The country as far as Bengal, including, of course, the Ghazeepoor District, was annexed, and a Governor was appointed to Behar.

Ghazeepoor, and districts east of Benares, at time of conquest.

It would seem that, before the Mahomedan conquest, the districts east of Benares were subject to the Rahtore Rajah of Benares and Kanouj; or else they were in the hands of petty chieftains and landowners, none of whom were sufficiently powerful to offer any resistance to the Mahomedan arms. And so it came to pass that some were actually occupied, and nominal possession taken of the rest of the country. (2.)

(1.) See pages 178 and 192, Briggs' Ferishta, Vol I. Page 315, Elphinstone's "India," 3rd edition. Elphinstone gives 1194 A. D. as date of the battle; but, from his authority, Ferishta, it would seem to be 1193 A. D.

(2.) Mr. H. Blochmann, from a careful perusal of the *Tabaqát i-Naciri* (a history of the period from Sabuktagin to Bulbun) and of *Tárikh-i-Firúg Sháhí* (from Bulbun to Firúg Shah), is of opinion that I am right in thinking that the Ghazeepoor District was under the Rajah of Benares and Kanouj. The name Ghazeepoor or Jounpoor does not occur in these historians, although the names of Baraitch, Fyzabad, Manickpoor constantly occur. This favours the statement of the district historian, that these cities were built during the Toghluk dynasty.

SECTION II.

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE GHAZIEPOOR DISTRICT, AND THE MAHOMEDAN COLONIZATION.

Ferishta, one of our chief authorities for the history of the Mahomedan power in India down to the close of the sixteenth century, makes no mention of Ghazeepoor till he reaches the reign of Ibrahim Lody, who, in the year 1526 A. D., was overcome and slain by Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty.

Ghazeepoor, not mentioned by Ferishta before reign of Ibrahim Lody.

Frequent mention of Ghazeepoor and the surrounding country is made in the autobiography of Baber, which will subsequently be noticed ; but of the history during the earlier Mahomedan Kings I can find no account in the published works of English or Native historians.

A few miles to the east of Ghazeepoor, several villages are owned and occupied by a numerous clan of Syuds, whose claim to be the descendants of the first Mahomedan colonists in the district is not disputed.

Clan of Syuds, descendants of first colonists.

Many of them are men of considerable intelligence and education, and some of them fill respectable appointments in the Government service.

They, like other Mahomedan families who consider themselves well-born, have, for centuries past, preserved a register of their marriages, and of other important events of family history. An introduction to this register, by Meer Amanoollah, begun during the reign of Aurungzebe, towards the end of the seventeenth century, and since continued from time to time, gives an account of the final conquest and first colonization of the district, of which the following is an abstract. (3.)

Family history of Meer Amanoollah.

Rajah Mandhata, a descendant of Pithore Rai or Pritevi Rajah, the Rajah of Ajmere, and the last Hindoo King of Delhi, was afflicted with leprosy. (4.) While on his way with a numerous body of attendants to the temple of Juggernath at Cuttack, he was cured of the disease by bathing in a tank situated at Kuttote, near the modern village of Ghouspoor, which is on the Ganges, eight miles east of Ghazeepoor. After his recovery, Mandhata, who had few inducements to return to his own country, which was held by the Mahomedans, built a fort at Kuttote, collected a large body of fighting-men, and made himself lord of the adjacent district.

His account of the conquest and colonization of the district, and foundation of Ghazeepoor, 730 H. or 1330 A. D. Rajah Mandhata.

The Rajah, having no son, adopted as his heir his nephew. This young man happened to see an old Mahomedan woman passing through his country with a young and beautiful daughter. He stopped the old woman, and took from her the child, intending to make her his wife, when she had attained a suitable age. The injured mother having in vain besought the Rajah to restore her daughter, went to complain to the nearest Mahomedan Chief. He, not considering himself sufficiently strong to attack Mandhata, referred her to Delhi, whither she accordingly proceeded. On her arrival, the King, Mahomed Toghluk, had gone on one of his expeditions to Southern India, leaving as his deputy his nephew, Feroze Toghluk, who afterwards succeeded him, on the throne.

Nephew of Rajah seizes a Mahomedan girl.

Feroze Toghluk, when the case was stated to him, referred the old woman to a band of forty warrior durweshes, champions of the faith. They told her they would gladly undertake the redress of her injury if only she could induce the distinguished Syud

The forty Durweshes and Syud Mussaood.

(3.) Family chronicle in Persian, written in 1104. H., by Meer Amanoollah of Zungeepore.

Continued in 1151 H., by Meer Mahomed Mehndee of Gungowlee ; and again, in 1250H., by Meer Ghulam Hossein of Para.

(4) The tradition of the cure of Mandhata has been mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Chief Mussaood to be their leader. She replied, she did not know how to obtain access to him; on which they predicted that during that night a mighty storm should level the tents of all the Chiefs except that of Mussaood, and that after it was over, she would find him in his tent, reading by the light of a lamp the holy Koran. Everything turned out as was foretold. Mussaood, granting the woman's petition, put himself at the head of the durweshes, and with them, his seven sons, and some other warriors, proceeded along the southern bank of the Ganges till they arrived nearly opposite to the fort of Mandhata. There he was met by a Mahomedan ascetic, who, on account of the violence and intolerance of the Hindoos, had been obliged to conceal his faith. This faqeer implored a blessing on the expedition, but bid Mussaood beware of the might of the pagan, with which, in open fight, his small force would be unable to cope. He advised that a sudden surprise should be attempted. Mussaood, in accordance with his counsel, left behind the rest of his followers, and in the night crossed the Ganges with his sons and the forty champions. In the early morning they made a sudden attack on the Rajah, while he, according to his wont, was amusing himself by watching the wrestling matches of his men in the groves near the Ganges.

Attack on the Rajah.

The Rajah was killed; his fort taken; the girl recovered. According to some accounts her mother went away with her to her home; others say that, in spite of the remonstrances of the warriors, she killed her daughter, as she considered a mere sojourn with the idolators had polluted her.

Death of Rajah and capture of his fort.

The nephew of the Rajah, who was absent on a hunting expedition when his uncle was killed, collected a force of Hindoos and marched against the Mussulmans. Two pitched battles, in both of which the Mahomedans were victorious, were fought; one on the banks of the Basoo River, which joins the Ganges near Kuttote; the second, and final one, on the site of Ghazeepoor. In the second the Hindoo Chief was killed, Mussaood was wounded, and one of his sons, Sydrajah, killed. The King, when he heard of the victory, conferred on Mussaood the estates of the Rajah, and the title of *Mullik-oos-Saadad Ghazee*,—Chief of Syuds; Champion of the Faith. Mussaood founded the city of Ghazeepoor, naming it from his new title. After his recovery, he went to visit and confer with a celebrated saint, Syud Ahmed, called *Cherm Posh* (or, *clad in skins*,) who resided in Behar.

Subsequent battles of Hindoos and Mussulmans. Foundation of Ghazeepoor.

The saint, knowing by his prophetic vision of the approach of the warrior, went to meet him as far as Mooneer on the Soane; and, giving him his blessing, predicted a long-continued prosperity for Mussaood and his descendants.

Ghazeepoor was founded in the year 730H.; and the date, by the Mahomedan numeral system, is contained in the chronogram *Huq Istiqlal* (5) as follows:—

حق استقلال 30=ا 1=ا 30=ل 100=ق 400=ت 60=س 1=ا 100=ق 8=ح

In the year 1754H., Mullik-oos-Saadad Mussaood Ghazee died, leaving his estates to his six sons. They held their ground against the Hindoos, though not without occasional bloodshed; and were strengthened from time to time by the arrival of other Mahomedan settlers, principally Sheikhs of the Sadeekee tribe, whose descendants still occupy villages to the north and east of Ghazeepoor.

The narrative of Meer Amanoollah, stripped of its supernatural, and perhaps of some of its romantic, incidents, seems to me in the main historically correct.

The narrative of Amanoollah in the main appears to be trustworthy.

(5.) Right of permanency.

The name Ghazeepoor argues a Mahomedan origin, and the fact that it is not mentioned in connection with any early events in the history of the Mahomedans goes to prove that the city was founded at a comparatively late period. The oldest mohullah in the city is called Sydwarra, and the tombs of Sydrajah and his father are still pointed out there; (6,) those of the other members of Mussaood's family, killed in fight with the Hindoos, are shown in the villages occupied by his descendants. The genealogies from Syud Mussaood to the present day have been kept up with exactness, and no reason appears for believing them fictitious. The fact that a scion of the Ajmere and Delhi royal family settled in the district is attested, as has been before mentioned, by Hindoo, as well as by Mahomedan tradition. That Feroze acted as a Naib for Mahomed Toghluk is mentioned by Ferishta. (7).

Evidence in corroboration.

The sudden and successful attack, by forty horsemen, on a Chief surrounded by a superior force, is far surpassed by an incident which occurred a few years earlier, in the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, when forty of his cavaliers made their way unobserved into the centre of the vast host of the rebellious Viceroy of Bengal, attacked him in his great tent of audience, crowded with men of distinction, killed him, and then escaped unscathed. (8).

It must be acknowledged that at first sight it appears inconsistent with the statements of authentic historians, and with the established facts of history, that the Ghazeepoor District should have remained imperfectly subjugated up to so late a period as the reign of Mahomed Toghluk. We know, that in the reigns of the Kings who preceded him, the Mahomedan arms had penetrated as far as Tipperah in the east, and to the most southern point in the peninsula of India. It is obvious that no petty Rajah or Zemindar of the Ghazeepoor District could offer even a temporary resistance to the armies which captured the forts of Warrangole, Deogurh, and Gwalior, defended by powerful princes.

A possible objection raised.

Still it must be borne in mind that the area of India is immense, and, for some centuries, the number of the Mahomedans was limited; and consequently, though they were irresistible, they were not ubiquitous. They could subdue any part, but not simultaneously every part of the country.

Solution of the difficulty.

A close examination of the Indian historians confirms, I think, this view; and shows that, up to a very late period, the border districts of the Provinces of Behar and Benares were not held by the Mahomedan dynasty with a firm hand, and were subjugated rather in name than in fact.

Proof from history of the late period of the colonization and subjugation of the districts near the border of the Provinces of Behar and Benares.

In the beginning of the 14th century, the independent Rajah of Tirhoot, unprovoked, attacked the King when passing through his territory. (9).

Tirhoot.

(6.) The festival of "Ghazee Meean," held in honor of Syud Mussaood, is the chief local holiday in Ghazeepoor for all the lower classes, both Mahomedan and Hindoo. It is held on the northern outskirts of the city, and a fictitious tomb has been erected on the fair ground.

(7.) See page 412, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(8.) See page 262, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(9.) See page 407, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

Jounpoor was not founded till the reign of Feroze Toghluk, who succeeded Mahomed Toghluk. (10.) In the reign of Sikunder Lodi, the Hindoo landholders of that district, to the number of 1,00,000, rebelled, and expelled the Governor, who was the King's elder brother.

Jounpoor.

A few years later still, Sikunder Lodi reduced the District of Sarun, then in the hands of Hindoo Zemindars. (11.) If Sarun remained independent up to the end of the 15th, it is not surprising that Ghazeepoor was unconquered at the beginning of the 14th century. I may add, in corroboration of the chronicle of Meer Amanoollah, that Ferishta (12) makes especial mention that in the reign of Mahomed Toghluk many of the distant provinces of India, till then but imperfectly subjugated, were as effectually incorporated with the empire as the villages around Delhi. (13.)

Sarun.

SECTION III.

History of the District up to its incorporation in the Mogul Empire in the reign of Akber.

For the space of eighty-two years, that is from 1394 A. D. to 1476 A. D., there was a dynasty of Kings called the Shurkey, or Eastern, regnant at Jounpoor, who were at length overthrown by the Affghan King Bheilole Lodi. (14.) The Ghazeepoor District was, during this entire period, a part of the Jounpoor Kingdom, which extended from Kanouj to the border, dividing Bengal from South Behar. The coins of the Shurkey Kings are still occasionally found at Bhitree, in the Ghazeepoor District.

Ghazeepoor in the Kingdom of Jounpoor from 1394 A. D. to 1476 A. D.

After the conquest of Jounpoor, Bheilole Lodi appointed one of the chief of his Affghan nobles,—among whom he was rather *primus inter pares* than a despotic monarch,—Nusseer Khan Lohany, as Governor of Ghazeepoor : (15) Nusseer Khan held the office for forty years, till the reign of Babor. He appears to have been a wise and popular ruler. Under his sway the town became a place of some consequence, and several new mohullahs or wards were built. (16.) A fort in the neighbouring village of Humzapoor, which up to that time had been the seat of Government, was abandoned, and a new one was built at Ghazeepoor itself. Several Mahomedan families of consequence, most of them Sheikhs, settled in the town and neighbourhood. The most extensive and important Mahomedan colonization of the district seems to have began at this time, and continued during the remainder of the sixteenth century. There was in Ghazeepoor, when Nusseer Khan was Governor, a Chief of distinction, by name Mahomed Khan Lohany. Babor mentions him in his autobiography by the surname of "Ghazeepoory." Probably he was a son, or other near relation of the Governor, Nusseer Khan. (17.)

Nusseer Khan Lohany appointed Ruler of Ghazeepoor about 1480 A. D.

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(10) See Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery," Vol II., page 32 ; Mr. R. Taylor's article on Jounpoor, in *Calcutta Review*, 1865; and page 569, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

The date of the foundation of Jounpoor is said to be contained in the chronogram "*Shuhur-i-Jounpoor.*"

(11.) See page 573, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(12.) See page 413, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(13.) Mr. H. Blochmann does not think that the Ghazeepoor District was less completely conquered than others. He thinks it probable that from an early period tributary Jagheerdars were appointed there, as its situation was a central one between Fyzabad and Gour.

(14.) See from page 478 to 560, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta;" and from page 359 to 378 of Vol. IV. of the same work: also page 686, Elphinstone's "India" (3rd edition).

(15.) See Amanoollah's Chronicle ; pages 565 and 596, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta :" page 408, Erskine's "Baber."

(16.) Amongst the Chiefs of this period were Abul Futteh Chistee and Shah Joonaid Kadiri. The descendants of Shah Joonaid now own all the land in the west of the city of Ghazeepoor.

(17.) Page 414, Erskine's "Baber."

After the death of Bheilolo Lodi in 1488, his son Nizam, under the title of Sikunder Lodi, succeeded him, though not without serious opposition. Amongst his enemies was the former Shurkey King of Jounpoor, who had obtained possession of Behar. A great battle was fought between them at a place south of the Ganges, 27 miles from Benares; most probably in Pergunnah Mahaitch, of the Ghazeepoor District. Sikunder was victorious; the fugitives fled towards Patna, and he pursued them for several days with an immense force of cavalry. (18.)

Battle of King Sikunder Lodi in Ghazeepoor District, 1494 A. D.

Some little time after this, Sikunder, as before-mentioned, reduced the District of Sarun. (19.) He appears to have remained for many months in and near the Ghazeepoor District, and numerous works are ascribed to him by popular tradition: amongst others, the fort and mosque at Sikunderpoor; a large tank at Mooncer, south of the Ghogra; mosques and other buildings at Amurpoor and Nurhun, in Sarun, to the north of the Ghogra; and a mosque and tank at Hosseinabad, in Pergunnah Khurreed, are said to have been built by him. (20.)

Stay of Sikunder Lodi in Ghazeepoor District, about 1496 A.D.

The tradition connected with these latter works is, perhaps, worthy of mention. It is said that the former name of Hosseinabad was Kulusdeeh: the people residing there in some way provoked the displeasure of the King. He determined to make an example of them; and, going there in person, killed all the adults, razed the village to the ground, and built a mosque on the site of it, a feat worthy of a King who in Lucknow, (21.) after enjoying a most interesting discussion for several days on the philosophy of religion, terminated the controversy by rewarding his favourite doctors and killing their opponent; and who, in Muttra, rendered it penal for a barber to exercise his calling.

Tradition as to the Hosseinabad mosque and tank.

After the death of Sikunder, his son, Ibrahim, succeeded him. How he alienated the affections of his Affghan Chiefs by treating them as inferiors, and how he was deprived of his crown and life by Baber, the descendant of Timoor, or Tamerlane, in 1526, belongs to general history: (22.) for about two years before the invasion of Baber, Ibrahim had lost all control of the Ghazeepoor District. Duria Khan Lohany, a fine old Affghan, a hero of the days of the King's grandfather Bheilolo, was the Governor of Behar, and to him Nusseer Khan Lohany, the Ghazeepoor Governor, seems to have been subordinate. Duria Khan fought well and loyally for the King Ibrahim against all his enemies; but when he found that to have been a favoured noble of the preceding reigns was, in the eyes of Ibrahim, a crime never to be pardoned, he threw off the yoke of dependence. After his death his son succeeded him, with the title of Shah Mahomed Lohany, King of Behar. Nusseer Khan Lohany, and other Affghan Chiefs, were associated with Shah Mahomed; and at the time of Baber's invasion, they, with an army of forty or fifty thousand men, had conquered the country as far as Kanouj, and even two or three marches beyond it.

Ghazeepoor and the adjacent districts come under the sway of Duria Khan Lohany, about 1524 A. D.; and after him of his son, Shah Mohamed Lohany, during reign of Ibrahim Lodi.

When Baber entered Agra in May, 1526, and was established on the throne, some of the Affghan lords submitted themselves to him, and received as rewards grants on the revenues of the still unconquered districts. Mahomed Khan Lohany received a grant

Some of the Affghan lords submit to Baber, 1526 A. D.

(18.) See page 572, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(19.) See page 573, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta." Traditions of Zemindars of Pergunnah Khurreed; MSS. from Sikunderpoor.

(20.) Some of these works in other traditional accounts are with less probability ascribed to Mahomed Shah Lohany; who, as will be noticed, was supreme in Behar during part of the reign of Ibrahim Lodi.

(21.) See pages 576 and 586, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(22.) See pages 554, 596, and 597, Vol. I., Briggs' "Ferishta:" 374, Elphinstone's "India:" 335, Erskine's "Baber."

on the Ghazeepoor revenues of 9 lakhs and 3,50,000 dams, equal to Rs. 23,375. (23.)

Humayoon's march.

At the same time, an army, under the King's son, Humayoon, was despatched against the Ghazeepoor Governor and the other Chiefs who still held out. (24.)

He enters Ghazeepoor.

They gradually fell back as he approached, and when he entered Ghazeepoor, at the end of 1526 A. D., they passed beyond the Ghogra. The help of Humayoon was urgently needed by his father in Rajpootana; he was therefore unable at that time to pursue the Affghans further; and, leaving a garrison in Jounpoor, he rejoined his father. (25.)

The Affghans reconquer the country up to Kanouj.

The Ghazeepoor Affghans finding that the King, with his best troops, was engaged in his war with the Rana of Oudhipoor, attacked and defeated his army in Jounpoor and Oudh, and again conquered the country as far as Kanouj. (26.)

Babur forces passage of Ganges and marches to Ghazeepoor, 1528 A. D.

When the King returned victorious from Oudhipoor, he forced the passage of the Ganges in the face of the foe, and drove them back to Ghazeepoor. His campaign in the district in that year, 1528 A.D., was not decisive, and the account of it has been lost. (27.)

Baber's second visit to Ghazeepoor, 1529 A.D., and campaign in the district.

In the following April (1529 A.D.), (28.) Baber again entered Ghazeepoor, and Mahomed Khan Lohany, who, in the past two years, had not received much from the jagheer bestowed upon him, presented himself. The Governor, Nusseer Khan, and some Chiefs, tendered their submission in writing. Many others, however, with a strong force, still held out, and were in position in Pergunnahs Bulliah and Khurreed, between the Ganges and the Ghogra. Baber proceeded to the east, effected a junction with a body of troops from Jounpoor, made a simultaneous attack on the enemy with six different detachments,—crossing the Ganges on the south, from Shahabad, and crossing the Ghogra on the north, from Sarun.

The Affghans were completely defeated and dislodged from their position. Seven or eight thousand joined the standard of the conqueror, and were welcomed by him; the rest went off into Oudh.

Rashness of Baber's strategy.

The strategy of Baber, though successful, was rash in the extreme; and if the enemy had been vigilant and determined, it is likely his detachment would have been cut off in detail. The more so, as the position of affairs was complicated by the presence of a fleet and army from Bengal, which pretended to be neutral, but made a sudden and fierce attack on the troops of Baber, at a most critical time, and was repulsed with the greatest difficulty. Baber, whose moderation in the hour of victory was only surpassed by his resolution and cheerful equanimity in disaster, forgave the treachery of the Bengal commanders, and made peace with them.

Incidents during Baber's stay in the district.

Baber's account of his campaign and sojourn of two months in the Ghazeepoor District and the adjacent parts of Behar is replete with amusing and picturesque incidents, which may fall below the dignity of history, but which equal it in interest. We learn from him how the forest near Chunar abounded with wild elephants; and how a wild buffalo was slain,

(23.) See page 337, Erskine's "Baber."

(24.) See page 340, Erskine's "Baber."

(25.) Page 349, Erskine's "Baber."

(26.) Page 377, Erskine's "Baber."

(27.) Pages 379 and 381, Erskine's "Baber."

(28.) Pages 408 to 421, Erskine's "Baber."

in a hunt for a rhinoceros and lion, in one of the islands in the Ganges. He conducts us with him on his midnight fishing expedition by torch-light on the Surjoo; and tells us how a big fish, escaping the pursuit of an alligator, leaped into one of the boats; nor does he forget to recount how in the preceding year he had swam the strong swift Ganges at Buxar. An exact, as well as an observant traveller, he never fails to have all his stages by land and water accurately measured, and the distances recorded. He notices the superstition of the Hindoos, which is still cherished among them, with regard to the waters of the Karumnasa, which they deem accursed and polluting. When the issue of the campaign was still undecided, he finds time to ride out from his camp near Arrah (which he calls Ari), to see the beds of water lilies, and to taste their seeds, which he tells us resemble the pistachio nut. As the Soane is near, he rides on to see the tombs in Mooneer, and to say his noon-tide prayers at the mosque there. His camp, like that of the forty durweshes, is attacked by a violent midnight storm; but, less fortunate than Syud Mussaood, his tent is blown over his head, and his books and papers, which he had not time to gather up, drenched in the rain that followed.

When the Bengalee army attacked him, he seems to have been more gratified in having an opportunity of seeing how they worked their artillery, in which their skill was famous, than indignant at their treachery; and he remarks, with the utmost gravity, that their method was to fire off at random, and never to take aim.

He makes us equally his confidants, when he ministers to a body diseased by the application of hot pepper water to his boils; and when he indulges a vitiated taste, by a dose of opium, or "maajoon," a sweetmeat containing the far-famed hachoosh, or Indian hemp.

He enjoys the ceremony of re-manning his well-beloved galleys with all the freshness of a school-boy; but when, as he steps in one of those same ships, the dagger of the midnight assassin is averted from his heart, he does not fail to make the pious reflection:—

"Let the sword of the world be brandished as it may, it cannot cut one vein without the permission of God."

Sher Khan Soor, of Sasseram, becomes Lord of Ghazeepoor and Behar, about 1530 A. D.

Soon after Babèr's victories in the Ghazeepoor District, Mahomed Shah Lohany, the so-called King of Behar, died. (29.) Sher Khan Soor, of Sasseram, by the force of his marvellous talents and distinguished courage, became the head of the Affghans, and the master of all Behar. At length, when the Emperor Humayoon, who had succeeded Baber, was returning from Bengal with his army in the beginning of May, 1539, Sher Khan made a forced march, and intercepted him after he had passed Buxar, at the place where the Karumnasa joins the Ganges in the Ghazeepoor District.

Battle of Chowsa. Defeat of Humayoon, 1539 A. D.

Humayoon was afraid to attack the Affghans, who were in a position of great strength on high ground, protected on the north by the Ganges, and on the south and east by the flooded Karumnasa. (30.) Sher Khan allowed the emperor to spend two months in constructing a boat-bridge over the Ganges. When it was nearly completed, he surprised him, on the 26th June, 1539, at day-break (the best time to surprise Indian troops, as our mutiny experience proves), and cut his whole army to pieces. Humayoon had not a moment for deliberation; he plunged at once into the Ganges. Before he reached the opposite bank, his horse was exhausted,

(29.) Page 110, Vol. II., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(30.) Briggs' "Ferishta," Vol II., page 87: Elphinstone's "India," p. 392: Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, page 333. I am informed by Mr. H. Blochmann that the river which separated the armies is, in the printed edition of the Asiatic Society of the Bádáonî, Vol. I., called the *Ramakî*, and in some manuscripts, the *Záhábî*, *Rakha*. It must have been the Karumnasa. Sir H. Elliot thinks the site of the battle identical with that of the battle of Buxar of 1764 A. D.; but in Humayoon's battle the Karumnasa divided the hostile armies, while in the battle of Buxar both armies were on the east of that river.

and sank into the stream; and Humayoon would have met with the same fate, had he not been saved by a water-carrier who was crossing the river with the aid of an inflated skin.

Ghazeepoor District held for twenty years, till 1559 A. D. or 1560 A. D., by the Affghans.

Sher Khan's victory decided the fate of the Ghazeepoor District for the next twenty years. It remained in the undisturbed possession of the Affghans, not only through the reigns of the three Emperors of the house of Soor, but through the second reign of Humayoon, and the first two or three years of the reign of the Emperor Akber. The story of its re-conquest is as follows. (31.)

Conquest of Ghazeepoor District by Khan Zuman, 1559 or 1560 A. D.

Amongst the nobles of the court of Humayoon were two brothers, Ali Koolie Khan Shaibanee and Bahadoor Khan; the sons of an Uzbek Tartar Chief, by a Persian lady, and born in Irak. (32). They were two of the bravest soldiers and most skilful generals of the age, but haughty, fickle, and insubordinate. Ali Koolie Khan distinguished himself much in the first wars of the reign of Akber; was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Captain of five thousand, and Governor of Jounpoor; and also received the titles of Khan Zuman, and of Ameer Oomra, or Lord of the Nobles. (33.) Before the battle which decided the fate of India, between Akber and his most formidable enemy Hemoo, Khan Zuman captured all Hemoo's guns; and in the thick of the battle he was himself surrounded and taken prisoner by Khan Zuman's troops.

When Khan Zuman assumed the government of Jounpore he seduced away from Akber's body-guard a page, or arms bearer, who had been a favourite of the late Emperor.

Ordered by Akber to send the young man back, he delayed for some time; and when at length the page was dismissed, Khan Zuman allowed him, before rejoining the Court, to go to Surroorpoor (now in the Fyzabad District), where he was killed in a brawl.

After this affair, Khan Zuman was anxious to effect a complete reconciliation with the Emperor, who was justly much displeased with him. To this end, he, without orders, marched with his troops from Jounpoor, subdued the Ghazeepoor District and the adjacent country, and expelled the Affghans, who had held it so long.

Foundation of Zumaneah.

The name of Khan Zuman is still preserved in Pergunnah Zumaneah. The town of Zumaneah was founded by him. (34.)

Subsequent history of Khan Zuman.

The Affghans, driven from Behar, took refuge in Bengal; and thence, in 1561 A. D., they returned, a formidable army of forty thousand veterans. Khan Zuman and his brother, with a force of only twelve thousand cavalry, attacked and completely routed them.

Presuming too much on their achievements, they neglected to send to the Emperor the captured elephants, always considered the property of the Crown. Akber, not

(31.) See the account of the reign of Akber by Ferishta; Colonel Briggs' translation, Vol. II. I am informed by Mr. Blochmann that in some bad manuscripts "Seestany" is written for "Shaibanee;" and hence, in Colonel Briggs' translation, he is called Ali Koolie Khan Seestany. Shaibanee is the name of an Uzbek clan.

(32.) See page 217, Vol., II., Briggs' "Ferishta."

(33.) I am informed by Mr. H. Blochmann that when Sikunder Shah surrendered the fort of Mankote to Akber, in 1557 A. D., he received Ghazeepoor and Jounpoor as his jagheer; and Khan Zuman went as his Lieutenant-Governor to Jounpoor. Sikunder died in 1559; the Affghans at Ghazeepoor threw off all allegiance; and were then, as mentioned in the text, conquered by Khan Zuman.

(34.) I am informed by Messrs. H. Blochmann and R. Taylor that this fact is recorded in the "Jounpoor Nameh," a Persian manuscript history of Jounpoor.

disposed to suffer the infringement of his prerogative, marched against them ; but the brothers, awaking to a sense of their misconduct, advanced to meet him, and presented him with all the spoil and other suitable offerings. The anger of the monarch was appeased: giving them a gentle and courteous rebuke, he returned to them everything, except what belonged by right to the Crown.

Ghazeepoor occupied by the rebellious Khan Zuman.

In 1564 A. D., Khan Zuman and Bahadoor were seduced into rebellion by a wily Uzbek Chief, who, being an enemy of Akber's, persuaded them that the Emperor had determined on the destruction of all the Uzbek nobles. After some successes, Khan Zuman repented, expressed his contrition, and received a full pardon. He soon took up arms again, and occupied Ghazeepoor and the adjacent country (on account of an unfortunate attack on his brother, who protested that he was about to lay down his arms, but when set upon by the royal troops discomfited them): Jounpoor was captured by the insurgent. Khan Zuman again expressed contrition, and again was pardoned; but notwithstanding, refused to present himself to the Emperor, and did not lay down his arms. At length, in 1566 A. D., both brothers were surprised and defeated by the Emperor near Kurrah Manikpoor, and killed in the battle.—*See note* (*A.*)

Ghazeepoor finally becomes thoroughly incorporated in the Mogul Empire, 1566 A. D.

After the suppression of this rebellion, the Ghazeepoor District or Sircar became thoroughly incorporated in the Mogul Empire. Its limits were fixed: it was transferred from Behar to the Soobah of Allahabad. Puhar Khan, whose tank and tomb at Ghazeepoor are still objects of interest, was appointed Foujdar or Magistrate, Military Commander, and supervisor of the revenues. (35.)—*See note* (*B.*)

SECTION IV.

The Ghazeepoor District during the Reign of Akber.

The "Ayeen Akbery" Pergunnahs of Ghazeepoor Sircar.

The principal authority for the state of the district during the reign of Akber, is the "Ayeen Akbery," or institute of Akber, by Abul Fuzl. A marvellous work; containing "some things important, many things useful, and *everything* superfluous." A treatise which explains the Hindoo system of philosophy and the Mahomedan system of cookery; from which we can learn the latitude and longitude of the Cape de Verde Islands and the current price of mango pickles; which is equally at home in the assaying of money and the management of an army. From it, we learn that the Sircar of Ghazeepoor comprized the following Pergunnahs:— (36.)

1. Buhuriabad.
2. Sydpoor Numdee.
3. Ghazeepoor.
4. Puchotur.
5. Kurrendah.
6. Bulaitch.
7. Zuhoorabad.
8. Lucknesur.
9. Kopachit.
10. Mahomedabad Purharbarec.
11. Kureat Palee.
12. Gurha.
13. Dehma.
14. Bulliah.
15. Zumaneah.
16. Chowsa.
17. Bolhabans.

(35.) The Ghazeepoor District was included in the Jagheer of Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, Governor of Jounpoor, who succeeded Khan Zuman.

In 983 H. (about 1573 A. D.), Maasoom Khan Farankhudi was Governor and Military Jagheerdar of Ghazeepoor. Puhar Khan probably succeeded Maasoom Khan.

(36.) Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, page 332, and Mr. Blochmann's edition of the "Ayeen Akbery."

Of these pergunnahs the first fifteen are still included in the district; Chowsa has been transferred to Shahabad, and Belhabans belongs to Azimgurh. On the other hand, four pergunnahs, which in Akber's time were included in the Sircar of Jounpoor, now form part of the Ghazeepoor District. Three of them, *viz.*, Khanpoor, Shadeeabad, and Khurreed, form separate pergunnahs; the fourth, Bhitree, immediately after the introduction of our Government, was joined to Sydpoor: so they now form jointly a single pergunnah, Doabeh, which in Akber's time was a Tuppah, or Subdivision, of the Becheeah Pergunnah of Shahabad, in 1838 was included in the Ghazeepoor District; and Muhaitch, which formerly belonged to the Chunar Sircar, has long been included in the Ghazeepoor District.

Changes in the Sircar or District of Ghazeepoor.

Some accounts of the meaning of the terms pergunnah, tuppah, and mehal, were given in the last chapter; but it is, perhaps, desirable to notice briefly the names of the pergunnahs of the district.

Origin of names of pergunnahs.

Buhuriabad.

Buhuriabad; from a celebrated saint, Mullik Buhree, whose tomb is in the chief village of the pergunnah.

Sydpoor.

Sydpoor; formerly Sydpoor Numdeo, from another holy man, Syud Shah Numud.

Shadeeabad.

Shadeeabad; originally Sadeeabad, called from Sadee, the faithful servant of Mullik Murdan, brother of Mullik Buhree, who first conquered the pergunnah. The tombs of Mullik Murdan, and of Sadee, in the chief village of the pergunnah, are much venerated.

Bhitree.

Bhitree; from Behtureen, wife of Mahomed Toghluk.

Doabeh.

Doabeh; from the two waters (*do-ab*) between which it is situated.

Zumaneah.

Zumaneah; (as before noticed) from Khan Zuman, Governor of Jounpoor, and founder of the town.—*See note* (*C.*)

Bulliah and Khurreed.

The Hindoos, unsupported by sense or sound, derive the name Bulliah from the Saint and Poet Balmeek; and they say that Khurreed is so called because it was bought by some one, as the word implies. The old name of Bulliah, *Toork Bulliah*, recalls the days when the Toorkee cavalry of Baber was quartered in the neighbourhood. Even as the name of the adjacent village of Hybutpoor reminds us of one of the greatest of the Affghan Chiefs of the time, Hybut Khan.

Old name of Zumaneah.

The old name of Zumaneah, *Muddun Benares*, is said to mean the intention of Benares; though Muddun, in Sanskrit, signifies desire, not intention. The tradition is, that the founder of Benares first selected Zumaneah as the site; but, finding it was not the precise centre of the earth, he moved on to the place ultimately chosen.

Khanpoor.

Khanpoor, it is stated, was formerly called *Khanpoor Chumkee*, and the account of the origin of the name is as follows:—The nobleman entrusted with the erection of the great bridge over the Goomtee at Jounpoor, had the title of "Khan Khanan," "Lord of Lords." (37.) After the completion of the bridge, Khan Khanan went on a hunting expedition to the verdant forest which in those days occupied the country on the left bank of the Goomtee, near its junction with the Ganges. He spent his days in hunting, and his nights in watching the graceful movements of the dancer Chumkee, who accompanied his camp; and in return for the entertainment she had afforded him, he bestowed upon her the country around his tents. In the appellation of his grant, he associated his own title with her name, and called it Khanpoor Chumkee.

(37.) The Jounpoor bridge was erected by Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, who succeeded Khan Zuman as Governor of Jounpoor.

Kureat Palee.

The old Pergunnah of Kureat Palee is now part of the Pergunnah of Mahomedabad.

Balaitch or Baraitch.

Sir H. Elliot, in his Supplemental Glossary, has noticed the difficulty which exists with regard to the 6th pergunnah in the list, which he calls Baraitch, and which he identifies with a small village in the Mehal of Bheetowlee, on the Gangee River.

Mr. H. Blochmann, Honorary Secretary to the Bengal Asiatic Society, informs me that he has in his possession fourteen copies of the "Ayeen Akbery," one of which was the private copy of Shahjehan; and that in all of them the word is written "Balaitch," and not "Baraitch." I am inclined to believe that the name, formerly Balaitch, has changed to Baraitch; and that the old pergunnah may be identified with what, at the permanent settlement, was the Talooqa of Baraitch.

Talooqa of Baraitch.

The talooka consisted of seventeen villages, and was formerly the property of Canoongo Ghulam Peer, (38.) whom, in 1169 Fuslee, or 1761 A. D., Fuzl Ali Khan, the last Mahomedan Governor, a ruthless tyrant, killed.

On the death of the Canoongo, the talooqa was held by Fuzl Ali for a very short time, and after him by the Rajahs of Benares.

At the permanent settlement, A. D. 1789, as no owner was forthcoming, the talooqa was leased to a farmer, Gunesh Singh, at Rs. 5,236 per annum. In 1802 a large part of it was included in the cantonment of Ghazeepoor; and, after the death of the farmer, the different townships forming the talooqa were made separate estates, and settled, in 1841-42, with the head-men of each of the villages.

Revenue system introduced by Todur Mull.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Akber (1570 or 1571 A. D.), Rajah Todur Mull and Moozuffer Khan were appointed finance ministers of the Empire. Subordinate Revenue Officers were appointed by them to procure accurate statements of the extent and out-turn of all cultivated lands in the Empire, and of the revenue paid.

On an average of the receipts for the nine preceding years, a settlement for ten years was concluded in the 24th year of the King's reign (1589 or 1590 A. D.). (40.)

Cultivated area and revenue, Ghazeepoor.

In the Ghazeepoor District the cultivated area was estimated at 2,88,770 beegahs 7 biswas; and the land revenue of the Crown was fixed at 1,34,31,300 dams, or Rs. 3,35,782. There were also assignments called "Sayurghal," for the support of learned men, of devotees, the poor, and the descendants of impoverished nobles; the amount of which was 1,31,825 dams, or Rs. 3,295. (41.)

The total land revenue, including "Sayurghal," amounted to Rs. 3,39,077.

Akber's revenue system was *ryotwaree*.

From a careful perusal of the "Ayeen Akbery," I think it certainly proved that Akber's revenue system was *ryotwaree;* and that the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. Zemindars are mentioned, but only as persons

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(38.) Report of Revenue Record-keeper of Ghazeepoor.

(39.) Pages 366, 367, Volume I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(40). Page 208, Vol. II., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(41). Page 283, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

These are the totals given by Abul Fuzl and Gladwin. By actual addition of the pergunnah items I find that they are not correct. The correct area was 2,89,007 $\frac{10}{20}$ beegahs; the revenue, 1,34,25,786 dams.

The "Sayurghal" lands, 1,21,527 dams.

likely to rebel, not as tax-payers. (42.) Husbandmen are constantly mentioned as the direct payers of the land revenue; and from this it must be concluded that the settlement was made direct with them. (43.) Nevertheless there were in the whole district only nineteen mehals; each of the pegunnahs forming a single mehal, except Ghazeepoor and Mahomedabad, each of which formed two. On the whole, it appears that owners of land where as such, ignored. But, for the fields actually cultivated by them, engagements were entered into with them, and similarly with non-proprietary cultivators. (44.) In accordance with the total ascertained proceeds of the land revenue for a pergunnah, an engagement perhaps in some instances was made with a single person, who might are might not be himself a landowner. In other cases, for purposes of account, a pergunnah, or part of a pergunnah, was *called* a mehal, though not actually one. (45.)

Proportion of produce claimed.

The revenue was fixed at a third part of the money-value of the crop, (46) being twice as much as the amount to which, by the ancient Hindoo law, the monarch was entitled. It was prescribed, that for all valuable crops, such as sugar, indigo, vegetable, spices, &c., a cash rent should be always fixed; which was probably, much less than the third part of the value of the crops: for all the ordinary crops the cultivated was allowed the option of paying in kind or in money.

Justification of high assessment.

Abul Fuzl justifies the high rate of land revenue demanded, on the ground that the King had remitted an immense number of oppressive vexatious taxes, of which he enumerates third-six. (47.)

Comparison of present state of district with state in time of Akber interesting.

A comparison of the present state of the district with its condition in the time of Akber is likely to yield interesting and valuable rssults; but before it can be made, a number of questions, apparently simple, have to be answered, and the preliminary process of determining these points is not devoid of intricacy, and involves some dry and uninteresting calculations.

Some preliminary points required to be settled.

Before we can make much progress in any comparison of the past with the present, we require to know what was a maund, what a beegah of Akbor's time and what the intrinsic and relative value of a rupee.

(42.) Page 374, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akber."

(43.) In the directions for Collectors of Revenue (page 379, Vol. I., Gladwin's, *et postea*) are the following regulations enjoining them :—

I. To assist needy husbandmen with loans.

II. To be the immediate protectors of husbandmen.

III. To transact the business of appraisement of grain directly with husbandmen, without the intervention of headmen of villages.

IV. To agree with husbandmen to bring their rents themselves at stated periods without intervention of any middlemen.

V. To enter into engagements for cultivation with husbandmen.

These and many similar directions prove that the settlement was *ryotwaree*. Mr. H. Blochmann takes the same view of the settlement and revenue system of Akber.

(44.) In cases in which through the good management of the headman of a village it was cultivated to the highest degree of perfection, an allowance of half a biswa of land out of every beegah was allowed to him, amounting to 2½ per cent, on the total out-turn. Page 380, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(45.) It might be thought that a mehal was the jurisdiction of an Amil or Revenue Collectors; but the small size of some of the mehals—*e. g.*, Balaitch, which contained only 2,000 beegahs—is hardly compatible with such a hypothesis.

(46.) Pages 357, 361, Vol. I. Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery."

(47.) Page 362, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akber." Most, if not all, of these taxes were subsequently revived.

We must ascertain the area of what was then the district, and the revenue which is now collected from it. To the investigation of these problems I now turn.

Akber's maund.

It appears to me that a maund of Akber's was equivalent to about twenty-seven of our seers. A maund contained 40 seers; each seer weighed 30 dams; a dam weighed 1 tolah 8 mashas 7 ruttees; there were 8 ruttees in a masha, and 12 mashas in a tolah: a seer consequently consisted of 52 tolahs 2 mashas and 2 ruttees. A rupee of Akber's weighs 11¼ mashas, *or* 175 grains Troy. A tolah, therefore, weighs 186·6 grains Troy; and a seer must have weighed 9,742 grains Troy. (48.)

A seer now weighs 14,400 grains Troy; *i. e.*, 80 tolahs of 180 grains each.

A seer of Akber's time was therefore ·676 of the present seer, or 54 tolahs 22 grains; and in the same proportion a maund must have been 27 *seers* and a little less than one chittack; and for practical purposes a maund of Akber's may be considered two-thirds of a maund of the present day.

Akber's beegah.

A beegah was fixed by Akber to contain 3,600 *Illahee guz.* Wilson states that an *Illahee guz* was, as nearly as can be ascertained, 33 inches long; (49.) a beegah, therefore, contained 3,025 square yards, and was 625· of an English statute acre.

Akber's rupee. Intrinsic value.

A rupee, according to Wilson, contained 175 grains of pure silver in Akber's time. (50.) At present it contains 165 grains of pure silver. Akber's rupee was therefore intrinsically worth 2 rupees 1 anna of the rupees now current.

Relative value of Akber's rupee.

According to the prices current given in the *Ayeen Akbery*, a rupee in the days of Akber would purchase at the very lowest computation about four times the amount of agricultural produce that can now be bought for a rupee. (50A.)

Wheat cost 12 dams a maund; in other words ninety of our seers per rupee.

Barley was 8 dams per maund; or 175 of our seers per rupee.

Millet, of spring harvest, 6 dams per maund; or 180 of our seers per rupee.

Millet of the autumn harvest was the same as barley; 175 seers per rupee.

Milk, 25 dams per maund; or 43 of our seers per rupee.

Ghee, 105 dams per maund; or 10 of our seers per rupee.

Brown Sugar, 56 dams per maund; or 19 of our seers per rupee.

Area of Sircar Ghazeepoor of Akber.

The area of the district in the days of Akber is found, by deducting from the area of the present district the area of Bhitree and five other pergunnahs since added, and adding the area of Chowsa and Belhabans. The area of Bhitree cannot now be ascertained, but is about 55,000 acres; estimating it at this, the area of the Sircar Ghazeepoor was 11,11,228 English statute acres. (51.)

(48.) Pages 58, 59, Vol I., and 90, 91, Vol. III., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery;" Wilson's Glossary, Article "Rupee."

(49.) Page 356, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery;" Wilson's Glossary, Article "Guz."

(50) Wilson's Glossary, Article "Rupee."

(50A). Page 106, Volume I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(51.) The present area and land revenue of pergunnahs now in the North-West Provinces will be found in Table III. of the Census Report, North-Western Provinces.

The area of Chowsa is 1,26,252 acres, and the land revenue Rs. 82,610 (letter, Officiating Secretary, Sudder Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, of 15th November, 1869.).

The exact revenue to be deducted on account of Bhitree cannot be stated, as the pergunnah is now entirely amalgamated with Sydpoor; but, approximately, the present land revenue of the old Sircar is about Rs. 11,50,000.

Present land revenue of the old Sircar.

In the reign of Akber the cultivated area amounted to only 1,80,481 acres, or less then one-sixth of the total area of the Sircar.

Cultivated area of Sircar in Akber's time.

According to the census of 1865, the cultivated area of the district amounts to about five-sevenths of the whole. But the census returns in this particular are based on the returns of the survey and settlement operations of 1840-41; and since then so much more land has come under cultivation that the present cultivated area of the district in not less and probably is more than five-sixths of the whole area.

Present cultivated area.

The land revenue in proportion to the increase of cultivation, without regard to the decrease in intrinsic and relative value of the rupee, ought to be five times as great as it was in the days of Akber; but, for the same area, it is actually less then 3½ times what it was. Having regard to the change in the money-value of agricultural produce, as well as to the increase of cultivation, the revenue ought to be now nearly, if not quite; twenty times as great as it was in Akber's reign.

Comparison of present and former revenue.

The revenue assessment per acre in Akber's reign was, both in theory and in practice, about Rs. 2 per statute acre.

Akber's assessment, Rs. 2 per acre on cultivated land.

It was theoretically; because for *average* wheat land the estimated out-turn was 12 maunds 38¼ seers, and the Government share 4,112 maunds ¾ seer; (52.) which, at 12 dams per maund, would be worth 52 dams. There was a further demand of 10 seers of grain from every beegah for the supply of the royal granaries. (53.) The money-value of this would be for wheat 3 dams: making the total demand for revenue 55 dams per beegah, or 88 dams; equivalent to Rs. 2-3-4 of Akber's currency and Rs. 2-5-6 of our currency per acre. The amount due on land cultivated with inferior grains was something less; but, on an average, the demand was theoretically fully Rs 2 per acre.

In theory.

Practically, the revenue to be paid in cash for 1,80,481 acres was Rs 3,39,077; (54.) and there were further due to the Crown for the granaries 72,198 maunds of grain; worth, at 10 dams, or four annas the maund, Rs. 18,049: so the total demand amounted to Rs. 3,67,126; or very nearly 2 rupees per acre of Akber's coinage and to more than 2 per acre of the rupees now current.

In practice.

According to the census, the present revenue rate on cultivation is Re. 1-9-2 per acre; but the actual rate is somewhat less than this, as the cultivated area is greater than appears in the Census Statement. For practical purposes the rate may be taken at Re. 1-8 per acre, or one-fourth less than it was in the reign of Akber. In proportion to the change in the value of agricultural produce, it ought to be Rs. 8 per acre or four times as great as it was in the reign of Akber.

Present revenue rate Re. 1 8 per acre on cultivated land.

The causes of the low rate of the present assessment will be discussed hereafter, but some explanation of the disproportion between the former and the present assessment is necessary. The causes of the discrepancy are as follows:—

Causes of the low rate of the present assessment.

(52.) Page 258, Vol I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(53.) Page 287, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

(54.) Page 210, Vol. II., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery."

Present revenue is enforced; that of Akber was not.

(1.) The present assessment is rigorously enforced. In Akber's time, according to Abul Fuzl, there was a wide difference between the settlement and the revenue paid. (55.) The directions to the revenue officers contained so many prohibitions of any harsh or oppressive measures in collecting the revenue that the occurrence of arrears is not surprising. The Amils were indeed directed to collect the revenues in full in plentiful seasons ; but in this is implied that in seasons at all below the average the full revenues were not expected.

In Akber's time only best land cultivated.

(2.) In Akber's time only the best lands were cultivated ; and consequently the average out-turn per acre was greater than at the present day, when all land not absolutely unfit for cultivation is cultivated.

Large population of present day.

(3.) The population is now so much increased, and the class of landowners—middlemen—between Government and the actual cultivators is so large, that the enforcement of so high a revenue as in Akber's reign would be impossible.

Other sources of revenue now.

(4.) There are now other sources of revenue :—*viz.*, duty on spirits and intoxicating drugs, stamp duties, Customs' duties, and income tax. In Akber's reign the land revenue was almost the sole source of income for the State.

The Permanent settlement.

(5.) The settlement of 1789 A. D. was first made for ten years, and subsequently declared perpetual ; the revenue has not increased with the increasing value of agricultural produce, or the depreciation in the value of money.

Permanent settlement made when much land was waste.

(6.) The permanent settlement was made at a time when the country was in a very depressed and backward state. The proprietary right in immense tracts of waste land was made over to neighbouring cultivators and zemindars, in many cases without any provision for demanding revenue from them when the land should come under cultivation. (56.)

Engagements made with the Rajah of Benares in 1781 A. D. debarred our Government from any advantage from enhanced revenue.

(7.) By the agreement made with the Rajah of Benares in 1781 A. D., (57.) the Government was debarred from our receiving any revenue from the Benares Province beyond 40 lakhs of rupees per annum. Therefore, if the settlement of the Province in 1789 A.D. had been made higher than it was, the Rajah would have been entitled to the surplus ; and consequently our Government had no motive for fixing the assessment either actually or prospectively higher than was done. This agreement was set aside with the consent of the Rajah *after* the settlement of 1789 was concluded ; *viz.*, in 1794.

Causes limiting the influence of the permanent settlement in retarding the growth of the revenue.

The influence of the permanent settlement in retarding the healthy growth of the revenue would have been much more marked then it actually has been, but for the following causes :—

(55.) Page 367, Vol. I., Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbery ;" and from 379 to 386 of the same volume.

(56.) See in particular Mr. Neave's Report on the Settlement of Mahomedabad Pergunnah, dated 14th January, 1790, to Mr. Duncan, Resident at Benares.

(57.) Aitcheson's "Treaties" Vol. II., from page 51 to 57 ; agreement of Rajah Maheep Narain and Mr. Duncan of 27th October, 1794.

Permanent settlement did not extend to Sydpoor, Bhitree, and Buhuriabad.

(1.) The Pergunnahs of Sydpoor, Bhitree, and Buhuriabad, then jaghoers, were not included in the permanent settlement: they have since been assessed at an adequate land revenue.

Resumption of revenue free estates.

(2.) Many estates held rent-free on insufficient titles have been resumed and assessed.

Settlement of estates held at permanent settlement by farmer.

(3.) At the permanent settlement nearly all estates of which the owners had been ejected by the Rajah before 1775 A.D. were settled for life with farmers. These estates amounted to nearly one-third of the province. The revenue of these estates has since been increased, and the proprietary right conferred on cultivators. (57A.)

Changes in the course of rivers.

(4.) The constant changes in the course of the rivers have a tendency to increase the revenue, as remission for land cut away is allowed at the inadequate rate actually paid, while newly formed lands are assessed according to their present value.

Military contingent.

The military contingent of the Ghazeepoor Sircar was fixed at four hundred and ninety horse and sixteen thousand one hundred and fifty infantry. The largest infantry battalion (5,000 men) was furnished by Zumaneah, and the largest troop of cavalry (200 troopers) was supplied by Bulliah; unless indeed 200 be an error in the manuscripts for 20.

Saltpetre and opium monopolies.

It is worthy of mention that the State monopolies of saltpetre and opium, which supplied the Emperor with one thousand chests of opium and one lakh of maunds of saltpetre, were principally situated in the Districts of Ghazeepoor, Allahabad, and Korah. (58.)—(*See Note D.*)

SECTION V.

History of the District from reign of Akber to its Transfer to the Rajah of Benares.

Mirza Sultan, Ruler of Ghazeepoor about 1615 A. D.

After the death of Puhar Khan, the next Ruler of Ghazeepoor appears to have been Mirza Sultan, a Prince of the Royal Family, and 10th in descent from Timur. (59.) He was at one time an especial favourite of the Emperor Jehangeer, who intended to make him his son-in-law. But before the marriage came off, a rumour reached the royal ears that Mirza Sultan had already several wives and concubines. The Prince, when interrogated, denied the truth of the report; but the Emperor, disbelieving him, sent his own eunuchs to the seraglio of the Prince, and all the ladies were brought before him. Jehangeer was much incensed with the Mirza, and sent him in disgrace from the Court, making him Governor of Ghazeepoor, at which place he died.

Nawab Sofee Bahadoor, about 1640 A. D.

Nawab Sofee Bahadoor was Foujdar of Ghazeepoor in the reign of Shah Jehan, and during part of the reign of Aurungzebe. A jumma musjid, built by him in Nowal, Pergunnah Zumaneah, still remains. (60.)

Anikoollah Khan. Revenue in 1685 A. D.

After him Nawab Sheikh Anikoollah Khan, a native of Ghazeepoor, was appointed Foujdar, an office which he held during the remainder of the reign of Aurungzebe, and for part of the reign of his successor Bahadoor Shah. During his administration, in the 27th year of the reign of

(57A). By the orders of Government, Zemindars dispossessed before 1775 A.D. were only admitted to settlement when the Rajah of Benares consented, and this he seldom did.

(58). See page 538 of the Fifth Report, Vol. I., Madras, 1866.

(59). For this notice of Mirza Sultan I am indebted to Mr. H. Blochmann, Honorary Secretary to the Bengal Asiatic Society, who derived his information from a manuscript of the Society, the *Madsir Ulumara*.

(60.) Amanoollah's Chronicle, and a Chronicle of Zumaneah prepared by the Canoongo in 1847. A.D.

Aurungzebe, 1685 A. D., the revenue of the district was Rs. 4,79,414, or more than a third higher than it had been during the reign of Akber. (61.)

During the reign of Aurungzebe, a family of Affghans rose to importance in the district, whose history is not devoid of interest. (62.)

Rise of an Affghan family during reign of Aurungzebe.

Four brothers (Neazee Pathans), named Ghous, Hetim, Puhar, and Inayat Khan, were soldiers in the army of the Viceroy of the Province. The wife of the Viceroy accompanied him on one of his military expeditions. It so happened, that in the hurry and confusion of a sudden march, her palanquin was left behind in a forest. The Affghan brothers came up, and finding the lady thus deserted, they took up her palanquin, and with the utmost courtesy conveyed her in safety to the camp of the Viceroy.

In return for this service permission was given them to settle in the Ghazeepoor District. They first tried to establish themselves at Beerpoor, near Chowsa; but the Zemindars there showed so much inclination to fight, that the brothers gladly compromised matters by accepting from them a sum of money and departing to try their fortune elsewhere.

They settle in the Ghazeepoor District.

Ghous Khan settled close to Kuttote (where Rajah Mandhata had his fort) and built the village of Ghouspoor. His descendants of the fifth generation are still living there; and, though in great poverty, are the nominal owners of the village. Many years since it was mortgaged for so large a sum to the first Serishtadar of the Ghazeepoor District, that the owners, in their impoverished state, are unable to redeem the mortgage.

Ghous Khan founds Ghouspoor

The other brothers settled in Pergunnah Mahaitch, and became the owners of eleven villages, which still bear their names and those of their sons; but of which only one is now owned by their descendants.

The other brothers settle in Mahaitch.

A remarkably fine fort was built by Hetim Khan in his village Hetimpoor, which is the most striking ancient building in the district. Its state of preservation is so good, that one of the large wooden doors of the main gateway is still on its hinges. The villagers of Hetimpoor attribute the preservation of the fort to the fact that disaster, disease, and death have visited every one who has ever appropriated any of the materials of the building. Numerous instances are mentioned by them, which, whether well authenticated or not, are so fully believed that no one will now venture to carry away a brick from the place.

Fort of Hetimpoor.

The fatality connected with the building is accounted for by a tradition that a human sacrifice (of a washerman) was offered at its first foundation, and that a Brahmin named Roodar Nath was built up alive in a standing position in the walls. This mural sepulchre is still worshipped, and fairs held there every Monday and Friday.

Tradition connected with its construction.

In 1722 A. D., Saadut Khan, one of the bravest warriors and most resolute generals produced by India in the last century, was appointed Viceroy of Oudh. (63.) Either at the same time or soon afterwards, the four Sircars of Ghazeepoor, Jounpoor, Benares, and Chunar, which formed the Jagheer of Moortaza Khan, a nobleman of the Court of

Ghazeepoor comes under the Viceroy of Oudh about 1722 A. D.

(61.) Chronicle of Amanoollah; and page 538, Vol. I., the 5th Report, Madras, 1866.

(62.) Chronicle of Pergunnah Mahaitch, prepared by the Canoongo in 1847 A. D.; and verbal statement of people of Ghouspoor and Pergunnah Mahaitch.

(63.) Page 328, Vol. I. Colonel Briggs' translation of the *Siyar-ool Mutakherin*: the Bulwunt Nameh of Moulvie Khair Ood-Deen Khan.

the Emperor, were detached from the Vice-royalty of Allahabad, and place under the management of Saadut Khan. He agreed to pay Moortaza Khan seven lakhs of rupees per annum; and he himself made them over, on an annual revenue of eight lakhs, to Meer Roostum Ally Khan, an old friend and companion of his.

Meer Roostum Ali is Foujdar of Ghazeepoor and the rest of the Benares Province about 1722 A. D.

Meer Roostum Ali appears to have been a careless, pleasure-loving, extravagant person. He was the builder of what is known as the Meer Ghât at Benares, and a fort in the city,—the materials of which were, it is said, used by Bulwunt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, in the construction of his fort at Ramnuggur.

Ghazeepoor traditions about him.

In the Ghazeepoor District, Roostum Ali is principally remembered for his camp and bazaar, on the banks of the Surjoo, in the Kopachit Pergunnah, where the earthworks of the camp may still be seen, and for the severity of his punishment of the Zemindars of Sookhpoora, in Pergunnah Khurreed. They had been remiss in the payment of their revenue, and contumacious. Roostum Ali, according to tradition, marched against them, met them near the village of Gurwar, defeated them in a pitched battle, and kill nearly all the fighting men of the village. From their skulls he constructed a pyramid; which it is stated, forms an elevated mound at the village of Gurwar to the present day.

He is superseded by his servant Munsa Ram, 1738, A.D.

Ghazeepore made over to Sheikh Abdoollah.

How Roostum Ali was supplanted and superseded by his servant Munsa Ram, the founder of the family of the Rajahs of Benares, will be narrated in the next chapter; it is, for the present, enough to state, that when, in 1738 A. D., Roostum Ali was deprived of the government of the Province of Benares by Sufdur Jung, then the Deputy of Saadut Khan, Viceroy of Oudh, and afterwards his successor, while the other three districts of the Benares Province were made over to Munsa Ram, Ghazeepoor was given on an annual revenue of 3 lakhs of rupees per annum to Sheikh Abdoollah.

History of Sheikh Abdoollah.

As this Sheikh is the only man of eminence whom the district has ever produced, and as he and his family occupy for many years the most prominent part in the history of the district, I think it will not be out of place to give a tolerably full account of his life.

Birth and early life.

Sheikh Abdoollah was the son of a petty Zemindar, Mahomed Kasim, Sadeekee of Dhurwara, a village a few miles to the north-east of Ghazeepoor. He was born during the reign of Aurungzebe. After receiving a good education in Delhi, he in early life filled some appointment in the Revenue Department, and showed so much ability and energy, that when the distinguished General Sir Bulund Khan was, in 1128 H., or 1717A. D., appointed Viceroy of Behar, he selected Abdoollah as his Deputy. (64.)

Subsequent career of Abdoollah at Patna.

The subsequent career of Abdoollah at Patna cannot be better described than in the following passage from Colonel Briggs translation of the *Siyar-ool-Mutakherin*, a works by one of the most trustworthy of Mahomedan historians. (65.)

Extract from *Siyar-ool-Mutakherin.*

"I am not informed what Governor succeeded Nusret Yar Khan in the Government of Patna; I only know that, in the year 1140, Fukhr-ood-Doulah, a brother of Jaffer Khan, having obtained the Government of that Province, remained in it five years; but as he could neither read nor write, and was wrong headed, his actions evinced the grossest ignorance. He was proud and prone to anger; and at the same time so imprudent that for a small matter he quarrelled with Sheikh Abdoollah, a person of consequence, in

(64.) Page 130, Volume I., Briggs' *Siyar-ool-Mutakherin*, According to the continuation of Amanoollah's Chronicle, Sir Bulund Khan went in 1124 H. to Patna: but the date given in the text is without doubt the correct one..

(65.) Page 372, 373, Vol I., Briggs' *Siyar-ool Mutakherin.*

those parts, who conducted all the public business in the province. This Sheikh had been for a length of time employed by every successive Governor either as his Deputy or as a Controller-General of the revenue, and he had in consequence connections with almost all the Zemindars. He was greatly respected by them, and had acquired the good-will of the troops, as well as of every individual in the country. Fukhr-ood-Doulah, actuated by a feeling of petty jealousy, intrigued against him, and made his situation so uneasy, that the latter thought it expedient to quit his house at Patna, and to repair to the other side of the Ganges, where he had built a mud fort near the town of Sevan, having there bought up several villages, with a quantity of land. The Governor, dissatisfied with this conduct, crossed the river and besieged him in the mud fort; and wanted not only to obtain possession of it, but also to seize his person. Sheikh Abdoollah, reduced to extremities, applied to Saadut Khan, Governor of Oudh, his next neighbour, to whom he explained his situation; and on his being invited to proceed to Oudh, he sallied out from the fort, and, bravely forcing his passage through Fukhr-ood-Doulah's camp, effected his retreat. Sheikh Abdoollah having arrived at Saadut Khan's court, was received with distinction."

Abdoollah in Oudh.

Sheikh Abdoollah, after his flight from Patna, received, it is stated, from Saadut Khan, Viceroy of Oudh, the government of the Districts of Goruckpoor, Baraitch, and Khairabad. (66.) He appears, however, to have been anxious, as is commonly the case with the natives of India, to exchange a high appointment far from home for a smaller one in his own district. When Saadut Khan was absent from Oudh, a year or two before Nadir Shah's invasion, he wrote to his nephew and son-in-law Sufdur Jung, who was acting as his Deputy, to provide for Sheikh Abdoollah. At this time Roostum Ali was in disgrace. Abdoollah offered to pay for the Benares Province twice the revenue hitherto assessed on it. After protracted negociations, it was settled that he was to have, as has been mentioned, only the Ghazeepoor District.

Abdoollah Ruler of Ghazeepoor, 1738 A. D. His buildings.

On his arrival as Ruler of Ghazeepoor, Abdoollah, at an expense of 3 lakhs of rupees, constructed the palace of the "Chuhul Sutoon," or forty pillars, now a pile of ruins, but which Bishop Heber describes as the best and most airy of any eastern building he had seen. (67.) He also constructed a masonry tank, and enclosed an extensive garden, now known as the "Nawab's Bâgh." Two forts, the ruins of which are still picturesque objects, were built by him;—one at Julalabad in the Shadeeabad Pergunnah; and one at Kasimabad, a village which he named after his father. On the road to this latter place he constructed a large and most useful bridge, still in good preservation, over the Mungaee River: a mosque and imambara, in the city of Ghazeepoor, were also built by him and his son Fuzl Ali.

All the buildings of the family were seized by Bulwunt Singh when Ghazeepoor was made over to him; and they were at first, on the occupation of the Benares Province by our Government declared the property of the State; subsequently they were restored to the family of the Nawab, and are now owned by his descendant, Mahomedee Begum, a wealthy lady residing in Patna.

His death, 1744 A. D.

Near to his garden and tank in Ghazeepoor he was buried, when his death occurred, in 1157 H. or 1744 A. D., and over his remains a handsome mausoleum was erected.

(66.) Continuation of Amanoollah's Chronicle and the "Bulwunt Nameh."

(67.) There is a story connected with the building of the "Chuhul Sutoon," which illustrates the parable of the talents. Abdoollah, when absent from Ghazeepoor, had made over to one of his dependents—Shumshool Huq—Rs. 30,000. Trading on this for his master, Shumshool Huq made it Rs. 3,30,000 The palace was built at a cost of 3 lakhs, and his original Rs. 30,000 was refunded to Abdoollah.

Abdoollah, at his death, left four sons; the eldest of whom, Fuzl Ali, was at the time absent from Ghazeepoor. The head servants and connections of his father, taking advantage of his absence, installed his younger brother, Kurumoollah, as the Governor. Fuzl Ali had recourse to the Viceroy of Oudh, Sufdur Jung, and offered an additional lakh of rupees annually if the district was made over to him. The Viceroy accepted his proposal, and procured for him from the Emperor the titles of Saif Jung; Moomtaz-ool-Moolk:—"The scimitar of war; darling of the Empire." (68.)

Kurumoollah first succeeds his father.

Armed with the authority of the Viceroy, Fuzl Ali returned to Ghazeepoor. His brother did not venture openly to oppose him; but with his advisers and supporters presented himself to Nawab Rai, the Deputy of the Viceroy of Oudh, and contrived to secure his favour and make him Fuzl Ali's enemy. (69.)

Fuzl Ali appointed to Ghazeepoor.

The Deputy appointed as the recipient of the annual revenue a cavalry commandant (Shah Baz Khan), who, taking the cue from his employer, acted as a spy on the movements of Fuzl Ali, and sent in constant reports of his oppression and contumacy. (70.)

Enmity of Nowul Rai, Deputy of the Viceroy of Oudh.

Nowul Rai having procured a fair ostensible ground of action, removed Fuzl Ali from his government, and again bestowed it on his brother. (71.) Fuzl Ali offered no resistance, but betook himself to the camp of the Viceroy, which was then at Sirhind, where the Mogul Prince Ahmed Shah was opposed to the Affghan King of the same name. (72). Fuzl Ali arrived there with a considerable retinue in the beginning of 1748 A. D.; and, as it happened, on the day on which the last expiring effort of the Mogul Empire was made, and the Affghans defeated. In the heat of the fight, Fuzl Ali's elephant took fright, and rushed to the rear of the Affghan army; where, in the confusion, an ammunition wagon caught fire and blew up, killing many of the Affghans. The Mogul, taking advantage of the accident, charged the enemy and completely routed them.

Removal of Fuzl Ali in 1747 A. D. Battle of Sirhind.

The Viceroy of Oudh, in a good humour with Fuzl Ali after the victory, wished him to accept a government in the Punjab. Fuzl Ali pressed for his restoration to Ghazeepoor; which, from a desire not to offend his Deputy, the Viceroy was unwilling to grant. The difficulty was settled by the death of Kurumoollah at Ghazeepoor. Fuzl Ali received from the Viceroy letters to his Deputy directing his re-instatement, and was again restored; but on an enhancement of one lakh of rupees of revenue; making five lakhs per annum.

Death of Kurumoollah. Fuzl Ali again appointed.

In 1750, when the Rohillah Affghans defeated and wounded the Viceroy of Oudh, they deputed a force of one thousand horse and two thousand infantry, under the cavalry commandant, Mahomed Ameen Khan, to occupy Ghazeepoor. Fuzl Ali, without resistance, fled beyond the Ghogra; but he recovered the district with ease in the following year, after the defeat of the main body of the Affghans by the Viceroy.

Mahomed Ameen appointed Governor by the Rohillah Affghans, in 1750 A. D.

In 1754 Sufdur Jung died, and was succeeded as Viceroy of Oudh by his son Shooja-ool-Dowlah. Fuzl Ali had in early life been an intimate companion of the new Viceroy: presuming on this old acquaintance he neglected to discharge his revenue, and did not treat his lord paramount with the respect due to him. The Viceroy, incensed at his insolence removed Fuzl Ali from Ghazeepoor; but before long re-instated him, as

Shooja-ool Dowlah becomes Viceroy of Oudh, 1754 A. D.

(68.) Continuation of Amanoollah's Chronicle.

(69.) Bulwunt Nameh.

(70.) Bulwunt Nameh.

(71.) According to page 539 of Vol. I. of the Fifth Report, Madras, 1866, the revenue of Ghazeepoor in 1747 at the death of Mahomed Shah was Rs. 4,44,346; or nearly Rs. 30,000 less than it had been during the reign of Aurungzebe.

(72.) Elphinstone's India, page 652. Bulwunt Nameh.

the man he appointed in his place, Mahomed Ali Khan, was unable to keep the zemindars in order. Soon afterwards, on the expulsion of the Rajah of Azimgurh, the government of that district was made over to Fuzl Ali, in addition to his old charge.

Bad conduct of Fuzl Ali in Azimgurh. District of Ghazeepoor made over to Bulwunt Singh in 1761 A. D.

In this new office he committed every sort of injustice and oppression. He was ordered to leave Azimgurh; and when he refused, an army, under Benee Bahadoor, the Deputy of the Viceroy, assisted by a force under the Rajah of Benares, Bulwunt Singh, was sent against him. After an engagement, in which Fuzl Ali was defeated, he fled to Ghazeepoor, and thence to Patna. The District of Ghazeepoor was made over in 1169 F., or 1761 A. D., to Bulwunt Singh, on an annual revenue of eight lakhs of rupees. (73.)

Subsequent history and death of Fuzl Ali, 1773 A. D.

Four or five years afterwards, Fuzl Ali received charge of some districts in Oudh; but his usual bad fortune attended him, and he was dismissed, as he would not agree to a demand for enhanced revenue. After remaining some time out of employment, he accompanied the commander of the Viceroy's troops on an expedition against the Mahrattas in Bundelkhund; the Oudh troops were ignominiously defeated; and Fuzzul Ali took the matter so much to heart that he refused all food, and died, near the Jumna in 1187 H., or 1773 A. D. (74).

Affghans of Zumaneah.

The history of the Affghans of Zumaneah during the Government of Fuzl Ali is worthy of mention.

This colony was first founded during the reign of Aurungzebe, by a regiment of Affghans whom he employed on one of his crescentades against the Hindoos. To the present day their descendants are in appearance unlike the other Mahomedans of the district, with whom they will not intermarry and whom they openly despise. Some Pushtoo words still linger in their dialect, and are used by them in marriages and other important ceremonies. A few of the Affghans have acquired landed property; but for the most part they are soldiers or travelling merchants. They carry about the rich silks and gold and silver cloths of Benares to the Courts of Native Chiefs. Their courage enables them to defend their property in wild parts of the country, and

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(73.) In 1788 A. D., Mr. J. Duncan, Resident of Benares, was informed by Oomrao Singh, an old officer of the Rajah, that Fuzl Ali had been expelled from Ghazeepoor and the district made over to Bulwunt Singh in 1169F., or 1761 A. D.

This date is also mentioned in Mr. Duncan's Report of 15th May, 1788, to the Governor-General.

See also page 544, Vol. I., the Fifth Report, Madras, 1866. According to the "Bulwunt Nameh," the expulsion of Fuzl Ali was in 1171 H., or 1757 A. D.

(74). See "Bulwunt Nameh."

After his death, his remains were conveyed to Fyzabad, and remained for 13 months unburied. His wife presented herself to the Begum, mother of Shoojah-ool-Dowlah, who, taking pity on her misfortune, gave her a gold pân box, by selling which the widow procured funds for the conveyance of his body to Ghazeepoor. She would have buried him in the court-yard of his imambara, but was not permitted by Bullum Dass, the Amil of the Rajah of Benares. He was then buried close to his father Abdoollah. Ameer-oollah, a younger brother of Fuzl Ali, whom Mr. Duncan appointed Judge of Ghazeepoor, erected a mausoleum over his remains in 1206 H, or 1792 A. D. The date of his death is contained in the chronogram; *Ghulam aleba bood.*" غلام ال عبابود

There is something touching in the Persian inscription on his tomb, of which the following is a translation:—

"The inhabitant of this abode is Fuzl Ali Khan.

He was a friend of the family of Moortaza (Ali).

"Whenever he heard the name of that prince of earth and Heaven he bowed his head.

"Every Syud (descendant of Ali) found in him a servant.

"His heart he presented a sacrifice to the Kurbulla King, and all his substance he devoted to the service of Ali.

"The year of his death is given in the remark of a passing stranger:—

"Without doubt, *this man was the slave of the holy family.*"

their noble appearance and bearing procures them entrance to places where an ordinary trader would not be admitted. In the present day, owing to the speed of railroads, and the difficulty of recovering debts from the Rajahs of the Native States, the trade is not a lucrative one; but a few years since it was thought to yield them large incomes.

Rebellion of Affghans. Zumaneah burned.

In the days of Fuzl Ali, this clan, incited probably by the success of the Affghans in the North-West Provinces, rebelled. Fuzl Ali attacked and defeated them, and burned down the town of Zumaneah. It remained some years deserted; till the Amil of the Pergunnah, Chowdhree Mahomed Ujmal, rebuilt the town, and invited all the Affghans he could find to return to the place.

Landed property acquired by Abdoollah and Fuzl Ali.

Fuzl Ali and his father adopted precisely the same policy made use of in recent days by Rajah Mân Singh and other Talooqdars in Oudh, for the aggrandizement of their estates. They induced landowners to give deeds of sale for estates, which they knew would be taken from them if they refused. (75.) In this way sixteen hundred and forty-seven villages and forty-seven fragments of villages, called chuks, were purchased. The rent-roll of these estates, in 1788 A. D., exceeded four lakhs of rupees. Bulwunt Singh, when he obtained the district, treated all these deeds of sale as waste-paper. They were subsequently, under the orders of our Government, declared void by Mr. Duncan, Resident of Benares, in 1788; and a pension in compensation given to Ali Azeem Khan, the grandson of Sheikh Abdoollah, and nephew of Fuzl Ali. (76.)

Personal appearance and character of Fuzl Ali.

Fuzl Ali was remarkable for his corpulency. He never mounted a horse; with great difficulty could be carried in a palanquin; and did not see his feet for many years before his death. He appears to have been brave. By all accounts he was vindictive, unjust, and oppressive; while according to some traditions he was a monster of cruelty.

Cruelty.

It is narrated of him that he once said he had seen people expiring from every kind of death except drowning. In order to supply this deficiency in his experience, he had a boat full of people scuttled in the Ganges, and watched the agonies of the drowning wretches with the utmost enjoyment, from his palace of the forty pillars. There is still alive in the district an old man who, until he lost his memory a few years since, remembered the occurrence.

Pride and ostentation.

The ruling passion of Fuzl Ali's heart, however, was undoubtedly pride;—pride which showed itself sometimes in disobeying the commands and refusing the dues of his superior; sometimes in the most extravagant prodigality towards his inferiors. On one occasion he fell into arrears to the amount of Rs. 25,000 with his revenue. Four suzawuls, on a salary of Rs. 250 per diem each, to be paid by him, were despatched by the Viceroy of Oudh, who were not to allow him to wash his hands or eat his breakfast till he had discharged their pay for each day. After a couple of days the required amount was collected; but instead of paying it to the suzawuls, Fuzl Ali directed that the whole of it should be distributed to the poor people and Syuds collected at his imambara. The order was obeyed; and the suzawuls, thinking further persecution and duress useless, departed to tell the Viceroy what a magnificent fool was his representative at Ghazeepoor.

(75.) It is sometimes said that Mân Singh, and his father, Durshun Singh, had property conveyed to them by deeds of sale because they anticipated annexation, and thought that property so acquired would remain in their hands, while that taken by open and undisguised violence would be restored to former owners, but when the Ghazeepoor deeds of sale were written, the Honorable Company had not acquired even the Soobah of Bengal.

(76.) See memorial of Ali Azeem Khan to Earl Cornwallis; and Mr. Duncan's Report of 15th May, 1788. Section 50 of Regulation XXII., 1795.

Note A.—Extract from a letter from H. Blochmann, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Bengal Asiatic Society.

THE following are the particulars regarding Khán Zamán's death.

Akbar came over Roy Bareilly (Rái Bareli) to Mánikpúr, crossed with a few of his Nobles the Ganges, and slept the night on the right bank. Khán Zamán's camp, according to the *Maásir*, was HALF a kos, and according to the *Sawánih*, *one* kos from him, I *suppose* in the direction of Allahabad. Early next morning (1 Zi-Hajjah, 974, or, 9th June, 1567 A.D.), Akbar, who now had 500 troopers and a large number of elephants, surprised Khán Zamán, for they had just started. Then followed the fight. The elephant *Tínmukh*, whose driver had the name of Somnáth, trampled Khán Zamán to death; afterwards a soldier came and cut off Khán Zamán's head, for Akbar had promised an *ashrafí* for every Mogul's head, but one rupee for the head of a Hindustani; but another soldier came, snatched the head away from him, and took it to Akbar. It was only afterwards recognized.

Immediately after the fight, Akbar started for Allahabad, which he reached the same evening. The fight took place on the field (عرصه) of the village (قریه) of Sakráwal (سکراول), which afterwards was called *Fathpúr*.

I do not know whether the Ganges has changed its course between Kurra (Karah) and Allahabad; but the revenue maps give a small village "Fatahpúr" not far south from Shahzádpúr on the bank of the river (about 10 miles from Kurra).

I think Badáoní's Mungarwál is a blunder of some copyist.

In the September Proceedings of our Society for 1868, I find I said Jaunpúr. I have therefore done far worse than the copyist.

When Akbar was in Agrah, Khán Zamán had besieged Kanauj; but hearing of Akbar's departure, he went to Mánikpúr, where he joined his brother. From there he went to the boundary of the parganah of *Sangror* (*sarhad* of Allahabad), and crossed the river.

Sangror (Nawabgunge) lies a few miles above Allahabad; hence Khán Zamán must have again marched towards Kurra, a counter-march for which the histories give no reason, and about which I am not clear.

A few days after the fight, Akbar conferred the whole of the jagirs of Khán Zamán and Bahádúr, from Jaunpúr and Benares to Gházípúr, Chunár, Zamániah up to the river of Chowsá on Munim Khán, Khán Khánan. Badáoní says that the season (end of 974) was *unusually* hot.

I forgot to mention that Khán Zamán came, as early as 964 (second year of Akbar's reign), to Jaunpúr, as "vice-tenant"* of Sikandar Súr; for when Sikandar had capitulated in Mánkot, he received Jaunpúr as "jágir," and his son Abdurrahmán Beg, the parganah of Sarharpúr. Sikandar died two years after the siege of Mánkot. The *war* about Jaunpúr broke out later when Shershah, son of Adlí, invaded the District.

قائم مقام*

Note B.—Extract from a letter from H. Blochmann, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Bengal Asiatic Society.

WHAT a brave man Faujdár Pahár Khán of Gházípúr was. He was fighting for Akbar in nearly every battle with the Bengal rebels. His name occurs about six or eight times in the Akbarnámah. His name *Pahár*, with the Hindi ز is a very common name among Afgháns and Belúches (Multán), and there is little doubt left that your Gházípúr man is the same as the Commander of 200 in the Ain.

Note C.—Extract from a letter from H. Blochmann, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Bengal Asiatic Society.

I LATELY came across the following passage from Abulfazl's Akbarnámah, in which I see it is mentioned that Zamániah was founded, or called so, by Khán Zamán,—a better authority than the Jaunpúrnámah. I give the substance of the passage.

When Akbar had defeated Khán Zamán, he gave Jaunpúr and the surrounding districts, which had been the jagir of Khán Zamán, to Munim Khán, Khán Khánán. Now it happened that the Governor of Zamániah, Asaddullah Khán, was a friend and adherent of Khán Zamán. Being unwilling to hand over Zamániah to Munim, he sent messengers to Sulaimán i Kararáni, king of Bihar and Bengal, stating that he was willing to hand over the place to him. Sulaimán on the receipt of this message despatched the renowned Lodí Khán to take possession of Zamániah. But in the meantime Munim had heard of Asadullah Khán's proposal to Sulaimán, and persuaded him to surrender Zamániah to him before the arrival of the Afgháns. This was done; and when Lodí Khán came with his troopers, he had to fall back disappointed, especially as he and his master Sulaimán were not prepared to risk a war with Akbar. But whilst in the District of Zamániah, Lodí Khán came to hear of the peaceful disposition of Munim Khán and his aversion to war in general. He proposed, therefore, that Munim Khán and Sulaimán should have an interview, to settle matters amicably. He sent at the same time presents to Akbar's General. The interview took place a short time after, about 4 or 5 *kos* from Patna. Zamániah remained with Munim, and Sulaimán promised to read the *khutbah** and strike coins in Akbar's name on the condition that Akbar guaranteed him the quiet possession of Bihar and Bengal (975 A. H.). Munim promised this, and Akbar subsequently, from Chitor, approved of these arrangements.

This Zamániah affair was thus the cause that Bihar and Bengal enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaimán in 980 (not 981, as in Stewart's Bengal and Prinsep's Tables).

* Prayer for the reigning Monarch.

Note D.—Translation of Tabular Statement in the Ayeen Akbery, relating to the Ghazeepore District.

Names.	Area in Beeghas.	Revenue (cash) in Dams.	Sayurghál Lands in Dáms.	Caste of the Zemindars.	Liable to furnish.	
				(2)	Horse.	Foot.
Bulliah	$28,344\frac{15}{20}$	12,50,000	Nil.	Rajpoots. It has Songars on the river, also others.	200	2,000
Puchotur	$13,679\frac{9}{20}$	6,98,204	22,500	Rajpoots ...	50	2,000
Belhabans	12,306	6,52,360	Nil.	Do. ...	10	200
Bulaich	$2,255\frac{18}{20}$	1,12,461	Nil.	Not mentioned.	...	...
Buhuriabad	$6,983\frac{10}{20}$	3,55,340	1,720	Rajpoots ...	...	200
Chowsa	$15,602\frac{11}{20}$	7,91,653	Nil.	Hindoos ...	10	500
Dehba (Dehma) ...	$2,808\frac{15}{20}$	1,28,815	2,077	Rajpoots ...	...	500
Sydpoor Namdi ...	$25,721\frac{3}{20}$	12,50,280	18,172	Hindoos ...	20	1,000
Zuhoorabad	$13,802\frac{12}{20}$	6,57,808	29,528	Do. ...	20	500
Ghazeepoor	$12,325\frac{9}{20}$	5,70,350	39,680	Kaiths and Rajpoots.	10	200
Kureat Palee	$1,394\frac{5}{20}$	75,467	Nil.	Not mentioned.	...	...
Kopachit	$19,266\frac{11}{20}$	9,42,190	893	Rajpoots ...	20	2,000
Gurha	$10,049\frac{10}{20}$	5,00,000	Nil.	Do. ...	...	200
Kurrendah	$6,260\frac{15}{20}$	2,93,515	Nil.	Do. ...	...	300
Lucknesar	$2,883\frac{3}{20}$	1,26,636	834	Not mentioned.	...	...
Muddun Bonares ...	$66,548\frac{7}{20}$	27,60,000	1,356	Hindoos ...	50	5,000
Mahomedabad ... / Purh Baree	$48,774\frac{16}{20}$	22,60,707	4,777	Do. ...	100	2,000
Abulfazl's Total ...	$2,88,770\frac{7}{20}$	1,34,31,308	1,31,825	Various tribes.	310	16,650
Correct Total ...	$2,89,007\frac{10}{20}$	1,34,25,786	1,21,537		490	16,150

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

PRELIMINARY.

History of the Rajahs of Benares. The subject one of general interest,

THE Rajahs of Benares, their origin, and the rise of their power form a subject of much historical interest. Many of the most important events in the eventful career of Warren Hastings took place at Benares, and were connected with the Rajah. Never before or after was he in danger so immediate as during the first days of the Benares insurrection; and it was for his conduct towards the Rajah of Benares that the House of Commons, willing to acquit him on all other charges, finally decided on his impeachment.

And of practical importance.

At first sight it may appear that the subject is not one of practical importance, and that it does not fall within the scope of an Historical Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District. My experience, however, as a District Officer every year adds to my conviction that, for the good and just Government of Ghazeepoor, and of every district of the Benares Province, a thorough knowledge of the History of the Benares Rajahs is, if not absolutely necessary, at least very desirable. Questions connected with the tenure of land, the rights of Government, the privileges and responsibilities of landholders, local and imperial taxation, spring up every day, which, for their adequate solution, demand a thorough knowledge of all the circumstances under which was made the Permanent Settlement of the Benares Province. For the want of this knowledge there is reason to believe a year rarely passes without the proposal of measures and the enactment of rules which, however judicious in other parts of the North-West Provinces, are unsuited to the peculiar circumstances of the Province of Benares, and, on that account, impolitic or inequitable.

Macaulay's account of the Rajahs of Benares.

Macaulay, in his brilliant essay on Warren Hastings, gives the following account of the Rajahs of Benares:—

"This rich capital (Benares), and the surrounding tract, "had *long* been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo Prince, who rendered homage "to the Mogul Emperors.

"During the great anarchy of India, the Lords of Benares became independent "of the Court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nawab "of Oudh. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of "the English. The English protection was given, and at length the Nawab Vizier, by "a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time "the Rajah was the vassal of the Government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, "and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Singh, "the reigning Prince, had paid with strict punctuality."

Macaulay's account erroneous.

Almost every line of this lucid and terse statement is erroneous. It will appear from a perusal of this Chapter that —

I.—Hindoo Princes had not long ruled over Benares. Rajah Cheyte Singh's father was the first of the family who had the title of Rajah, or can be considered a Prince.

II.—Benares was subject to the Viceroys of Oudh for twelve years before the first founder of the Benares family was entrusted with the government of the city.

III.—The founder of the family, Munsa Ram, and his son, Bulwunt Singh, the first Rajah, were not directly vassals of the Mogul Emperors, but were dependants of the Viceroy of Oudh, and were by him first appointed to the Government of Benares.

IV.—So far from the Benares Rajah having been compelled to submit to the authority of the Nawabs of Oudh, the Rajah was at first for some years little more than a farmer of the Nawab's revenues. The power and independence which he afterwards attained was wrested from the Viceroy by a long continued course of daring and successful insubordination.

V.—The transfer of Benares to the Company was wrung from the Viceroy of Oudh in 1775 A. D., not on account of any complaints of the Benares Rajah, but because Sir Philip Francis and his allies, the Councillors who then constituted the Government, were greedy of territory, and the Viceroy, in the crisis of a new succession to the throne after his father's death, was unable to resist the importunity of their demands.

VI.—This transfer, which took place in 1775 A. D., was not the first time in which Benares was ceded to the Company, or governed by their representatives. After the battle of Buxar in 1764, the Province was ceded to the Honorable Company by the Emperor Shah Alum, and for a whole year (1765 A. D.) the city was occupied by our troops, and the revenues of the Province received by our Government. (*See Note A.*)

The Bulwuntnamah.

Our chief authority for the early history of the Rajahs of Benares is the *Bulwuntnamah*, a rare Persian History in manuscript which has never been translated, and was not, till the present year, to be found in the archives of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Of this work I have largely availed myself in the preceding Chapter. It was written at the request of the Governor-General Sir J. Shore by a Jounpoer Moulvie, Kheir-ool-deen, who is known to Oriental scholars as the author of the Jounpoer-namah, a valuable history of his native city. His father was a trusted servant of Nawab Fuzl Ali of Ghazeepoor. Kheir-ool-deen himself was long the confidential Moonshee of the younger Mr. Vansittart, and during the administration of Warren Hastings he held, under our Government, offices of high trust and emolument. At Ramnuggur he was behind the scenes, acquainted with all the intrigues in progress there, and with the unseen influences to which Rajah Cheyte Singh was exposed. Kheir-ool-deen made a good use of his peculiar opportunities for acquiring information. His work, though abounding in unimportant details, throws much additional light on those transactions during the administration of Warren Hastings which his impeachment afterwards made so famous. Tested by existing facts, by local tradition, by treaties and other contemporary documents of English administrators, the *Bulwuntnamah* appears to be, on the whole, a truthful and accurate history. The author always represents the actions of Baboo Ousan Singh, great grandfather of the trusty Rajah Sir Deonarain Singh, K.C.S.I., in an unfavorable light, but, as far as I can judge, he is in other respects impartial. *(See Note B.)*

SECTION II.

Munsa Ram.

First origin of the family of the Benares Rajahs, Kuthoo Misser.

The family of the Benares Rajahs belong to a clan of Gowtum, Bhoonhar Brahmins, the land-holders of Pergunnah Kuswar, which lies a few miles to the west of Benares. They trace their descent from a Brahmin, Kuthoo Misser, who was the *gooroo* or spiritual guide of Bunar (probably a mythical personage), king of Benares, before the invasion of the Mahomedans. It is narrated that Rajah Bunar often tried to induce his *gooroo* to accept some remuneration for his spiritual ministrations. Failing in all his attempts, he one day stealthily tied up in the corner of his headcloth a grant of rent-free land. The Brahmin, when returning home to his devotions,

found that his thoughts were distracted, a terrestrial odour pervaded his person, and the air would not, as on other days, sustain his garments floating above the earth while he performed his ablutions. When, at length, the angry saint discovered the deception which had been practised on him, he predicted that all the domains of the perpetrator of the unhallowed act should one day become the property of his own descendants (2).

Munsa Ram's birth and parentage. Rise of his power.

Munsa Ram, the first founder of the Benares family, was born towards the end of the reign of Aurungzebe and was the eldest of four brothers, sons of Mutrunjun Singh, owner of half the village of Tuthureah, in Pergunnah Kuswar. He entered the service of Roostum Ali, Governor of Benares, under the Viceroy of Oudh, and, through the force of his ability and energy, became the most important personage in the province. He was regarded with envy and hatred by the more ambitious members of the Gowtum tribe, among whom were Bairee Sal and Durriao Singh, zemindars in the Kuswar Pergunnah. A confederacy of his enemies, headed by these chiefs, was formed against Munsa Ram. On one occasion, when Roostum Ali was in the Ghazeepoor District, Munsa Ram collected a force and attacked them. A sanguinary conflict ensued, in which both Bairee Sal and Durriao Singh were killed, but their sons escaped and lived to become troublesome enemies to Munsa Ram's successor.

He obtains possession of the Fort of Murreahoo.

In 1737 A.D., Munsa Ram acquired possession of the Fort of Murreahoo in the Jounpoor District. The circumstance is hardly worthy of mention except as it affords a good illustration of the policy commonly adopted by the chiefs of the Benares family in aggrandising their power. Roostum Ali, with the Murreahoo Chiefs and Munsa Ram, was engaged by order of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh in an expedition against the zemindars of Kuntit, now in the Mirzapoor District. They would have surrendered, but were secretly instigated by Munsa Ram to show fight. Roostum Ali and his followers were about to attack them when Munsa Ram refused to allow his men to fight unless the custody of the Murreahoo Fort were made over to him. Roostum Ali, afraid of losing his help at a critical time, induced the Murreahoo Rajah to surrender it for a time, making the most solemn promises that it should be restored to him. Munsa Ram, having attained his object, joined in the attack on the refractory land-holders, but when the rebellion was suppressed Roostum Ali's promise with regard to the Fort was broken, and it was retained by Munsa Ram.

He is deputed by Roostum Ali to meet Sufder Jung. The three Sircars Benares, Jounpoor and Chunar are settled with him in the name of Bulwunt Singh.

In 1738 A. D., when Sufder Jung, Deputy of the Viceroy of Oudh, came to expel Roostum Ali from Benares, he was met at Jounpoor by Munsa Ram, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. After protracted negociations, during which Roostum Ali believed, and with reason, that his ambassador had treacherously preferred his own to his master's interest, the three Sircars of Jounpoor, Chunar, and Benares were made over, on an annual revenue of 13 lacs of rupees, to Munsa Ram, in the name of his son Bulwunt Singh, for whom the title of Rajah was obtained from the Delhi Emperor.

Entry into Benares of Munsa Ram, 31st May, 1738, and his death.

The Police establishment and magazine of Benares, and the Fort of Jounpoor, which had been in the charge of Roostum Ali, were not placed in the charge of his successor. Munsa Ram entered Benares in triumph on the 21st of the month Safur, 1151 H., the 31st of May, 1738 A. D., and died within a year, leaving Bulwunt Singh the actual, as he had been the nominal, ruler of the country.

(2,)—Lieutenant, afterwards Colonel Wilford, the antiquarian, gave an account of Kuthoo Misser much the same as that given in the *Bulwuntnamah* in a report on Gangapoor, Kuswar Pergunnah, made to Mr. Duncan when Resident at Benares.

SECTION III.

Bulwunt Singh.

Bulwunt Singh's accession. He builds the Fort of Gungapoor.

Bulwunt Singh, on the death of his father, sent a *nuzzur*, or offering, of Rs. 21,775 to Delhi, and obtained from the Emperor Mahomed Shah recognition as Rajah, and as Zemindar of Kuswar, and of three other pergunnahs. He selected as his place of residence Tuthereah, his grandfather's village, and built a Fort there; but as the villagers in the neighbourhood had a rhyming couplet which associated the name of the village with that of the sweeper caste (Tuthereah with Mehtureah) he changed the name to that of Gungapoor, which it still bears.

Bulwunt Singh submissive to the Viceroy of Oudh till 1748. His rebellion, and conquest of Bhudohee.

For the first nine or ten years of his Government, Rajah Bulwunt Singh appears to have paid his revenue to the Viceroy of Oudh with punctuality, and to have conducted himself in a submissive manner towards his superior. At length, in 1748, when the Viceroy Sufder Jung was at Delhi, at the time of the invasion of the Afghans under Ahmed Shah, Bulwunt Singh rudely expelled the Sazawals of the Viceroy, to whom he should have paid his revenue, and, with the help of Rajah Pirthiput Narain of Pertabgurh, attacked and plundered the Bhudohee Pergunnah, the zemindaree of the Monus Rajpoots, at that time under the Government of the Nazim of Allahabad. Bulwunt Singh confined in an iron cage, and ultimately murdered, Duswunt Singh, the chief of the Monus, who had been an old enemy of his father. Ali Kooly Khan, the Nazim of Allahabad, enraged at this invasion of the provinces in his charge, entered Bhudohee with an army, was joined by the sons of Bairee Sal and Durriao Singh, and recaptured the Fort of Bhudohee. Bulwunt Singh first fled, then sued for peace, offering a large sum in expiation of his offence. He entered into negociations with the Nazim, and, meanwhile, so effectually corrupted several of his chief officers, Hindoos, that, on the occasion of his making a sudden and treacherous attack on the Nazim, they offered only a semblance of resistance, and sent their troops to fight in the ranks of the assailants. The son of Durriao Singh was killed in the fight. The army of Ali Kooly Khan was completely defeated, and fled ignonimously to Allahabad.

Sufder Jung in 1750A.D. defeated by the Rohilla Afghans. The Rohillas occupy southern Oudh and the Benares Province. Bulwunt Singh submits to them.

Soon after this occurrence, in 1750A.D., the Viceroy of Oudh was himself routed by the Rohilla Afghans, and Allahabad was occupied by Ahmed Khan Bungash. Sahib Zumma Khan, a cavalry commandant of Bulwunt Singh, and a connection of the Furruckabad Rohilla chief was appointed by Ahmed Khan Governor of Benares and southern Oudh. A very powerful force was collected by the Afghans at Akberpoor, now in the Fyzabad District. The Forts of Soorhoolpoor and Jounpoor were taken with ease. Bulwunt Singh made friendly overtures to Sahib Zumma Khan, which were not accepted. On this, sending large offerings to Ahmed Khan at Allahabad, he was permitted to present himself before that chief, and obtained from him a grant of a portion of his old domains, that is, all the pergunnahs situated to the south of the Ganges.

Expulsion of the Rohillas.

Before any effect had been given to this agreement, Sufder Jung, having defeated the Afghans, returned to Fyzabad; on hearing this, Bulwunt Singh cut off Sahib Zumma Khan's retreat, and would have attacked him only that his own officers, many of whom were Afghans, much to his disgust, refused to attack in the hour of his adversity a chief, an old companion of their own, against whom all hostilities had been suspended while his cause was prosperous. Bulwunt Singh, obliged to cloak his hatred, instigated the soldiers in the employment of Zumma Khan to mutiny for wages, and subsequently turned his family out of their house in Jounpoor, pillaged it, and burnt it to the ground.

Sufder Jung kills Rajah Pirthiput Narain, and proceeds to Benares.

Sufder Jung, once more again firmly established in power, proceeded to take vengeance on his rebellious vassals. Rajah Pirthiput presented himself at Sultanpoor, and while holding a friendly conference with the Viceroy, at a sign from him, was stabbed to

the heart by a Calmuck. The Viceroy then proceeded to Benares, breathing out threatenings against Bulwunt Singh; he plundered his house, and levelled his Fort at Gungapoor, but was unable to seize the Rajah, who, with his family, had fled to the mountains south of the Ganges.

Soon afterwards, Bulwunt Singh sent, through one of his servants, two lacs of rupees as an offering to the Viceroy, and offered to pay an annual enhancement of his revenue to the same amount.

The Viceroy gave no decided answer, but endeavoured by fair speeches and promises to get Bulwunt Singh into his power; and to this end sent one of his Ministers (Noor-ool-Hussun) to induce the Rajah to come to Benares. The envoy exerted all the arts of persuasion in vain. Bulwunt Singh replied : " From the presence of God no one returns," and when further pressed recounted the fable of the hawk and the cock : " How is it," said the hawk, " that I, an inhabitant of the wilds, when captured by man, become so " attached to him, that when released in pursuit of game I voluntarily return to him, " while you, a domestic creature, whenever you are caught, fill the air with your screams? " Ah," said the cock, " who ever saw a hawk killed, plucked, skinned, and grilled, as " is so often the fate of the birds of our unhappy race!" The Viceroy finding that all his attempts to entrap Bulwunt Singh were useless, and that a prolonged stay at Benares was inconvenient, in 1751-52 sent him a khillut, and made over the country to him on the terms he had proposed.

Bulwunt Singh acquires five Forts.
Ramnuggur.

After the departure of the Viceroy, Bulwunt Singh set himself vigorously to work to consolidate his power, and to establish for himself a strong strategical basis on the south of the Ganges. To this end he built the great stone Fort of Ramnuggur on the Ganges, nearly opposite to Benares, and procured possession of the Forts of Bidjeyghur, Agoree, Lutteefpoor and Putteotah, all in the present district of Mirzapoor.

Bidjeyghur.

Bidjeyghur belonged to the Chundel Rajpoot Rajah of the pergunnah. It is situated on a flat-topped, but precipitous mountain in the Kymore range, two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and is approached by a single narrow and difficult path. Bulwunt Singh for some time devastated and plundered the country of the Rajah of Bidjeyghur, and harassed him by every means in his power, till, in 1752 A. D., he consented to sell his Fort for Rs. 50,000. The Fort once surrendered, pretexts for refusing to pay for it were easily found.

Putteotah.

Putteotah Fort, situated at the foot of the Vindyan Hills, five miles from Chunar, belonged to the Mahomedan zemindar of Pergunnah Bhugwut. So long as this chief was in health and vigour, Bulwunt Singh was afraid to attack him, but when he was taken ill, the Fort was attacked and captured after a month's siege.

Lutteefpoor.

Lutteefpoor Fort, situated on a picturesque gorge of the Vindyan Hills, and commanding the road from Ramnugggur to Bidjeyghur, belonged to a sturdy and fearless Mahomedan pergunnah zemindar. Bulwunt Singh waited till his death, then sent messages of condolence to his young sons, and having thus disarmed their suspicion, surprised and killed them and seized their Fort.

Agoree.

The Fort of Agoree, which stands on a lofty rock above the Soane River, was the old fortress of the Chundel Rajahs of Burhur. Bulwunt Singh attacked and captured it by force of arms without any of the dissimulation practised in the other cases.

In 1168 H., (1754 A. D.) the Rajah annexed the large Pergunnah of Keyra Mugror, belonging to the province of Behar and the district of Shahabad. This pergunnah was held by Daim Khan, the representative of a branch of the great Guhurwar Rajpoots, family of Kuntit, who had become Mahomedans. The son of Roostum Ali, the former Governor of the Province, had married a daughter of Daim Khan. Dassa Ram, an uncle of Bulwunt Singh, who was at enmity with him for some time, took refuge with Daim Khan. Afterwards, becoming reconciled to his nephew, he requited the hospitality of his host by treacherously seizing his Fort for the Rajah. Daim Khan soon recovered his Fort and took Dassa Ram prisoner, but he was unable to retain his country, as Bulwunt Singh occupied it with an overpowering force of his own troops, and a large contingent of Mahratta cavalry. Rajah Bulwunt Singh, after the release of his uncle, and the expulsion of Daim Khan, came to terms with the Deputy of the Viceroy of Behar, and promised to pay an annual revenue of Rs. 7,000 for the pergunnah, and soon afterwards, by the payment of Rs. 80,000 at the Court of the Emperor Alumgheer the 2nd, he obtained a Royal grant authorizing him to hold the pergunnah free of revenue; under this grant it is held free of revenue by the present Rajah of Benares.

Keyra Mugror Pergunnah annexed in 1754.

The year 1169 H. (1755 A. D.) was marked by the extension to the Sircar of Jounpoor of the same policy which had been adopted in the other parts of the province. The estates of the larger landholders were taken under the direct management of the agents of the Rajah, and they were themselves imprisoned or banished.

Large zemindars in Jounpoor Sircar ejected in 1755 A. D.

The Viceroy of Oudh, Sufder Jung, died in the same year. He was succeeded by his son Shoojah-ool-Dowla, who was appointed Vizier of the empire. Bulwunt Singh endeavoured to profit by the confusion which in India generally attends a change in the administration, by offering a bribe of a lac of rupees to the commandant of Chunar for the surrender of that fortress. The new Viceroy, apprised of these overtures, came with all haste to Benares and prevented the surrender.

Death of Sufder Jung 1755 A. D. Bulwunt Singh tries to obtain possession of Chunar.

Shoojah-ool-Dowla, much incensed against Bulwunt Singh, proposed to Fuzl Ali of Ghazeepoor that he should become his agent in the destruction of the Rajah, who had taken refuge in the fortress of Lutteefpoor. Fuzl Ali consented, but asked for the help of ten thousand horsemen, and, on account of the devastation of the countries which would be inevitable, stipulated for a remission of 10 lacs of revenue. Bulwunt Singh called in the aid of his allies the Mahrattas, but at the same time sent to the Viceroy an offering of 5 lacs of rupees in cash, and offered an annual enhancement of 5 lacs. The deputy, and others of his advisers who were in the interest of the Rajah, persuaded the Viceroy that it was better to accept these proposals than to place reliance on the proud and negligent Fuzl Ali. A fresh *sunnud* was conferred on the Rajah, in virtue of which half the revenues of Pergunnah Bhudohee, his first conquest, became the Jagheer of the Rajah, a grant of which his descendants reap the benefit up to this day.

The Viceroy applies to Fuzl Ali of Ghazeepoor.

In 1171 H., or 1758 A. D., as has been narrated in the preceding chapter, Fuzl Ali was expelled from Ghazeepoor, and through the influence of Benee Bahadoor, the Deputy of the Viceroy of Oudh, the pergunnahs of that district, then twenty-two in number, were made over to Bulwunt Singh.

Expulsion of Fuzl Ali from Ghazeepoor.

Having acquired the Ghazeepoor District, Rajah Bulwunt Singh, in pursuance of his established policy of dispossessing all talookdars or pergunnah zemindars, took possession of the estates of Rajah Bhoabul Deo, the Hyobuns Rajah of the Bulliah Pergunnah, and of Baboo Door-

The District is made over to Bulwunt Singh. Pergunnah zemindars ejected.

bijey Singh, the Oojene Chief, a kinsman of the Bhojepoor family of Tuppeh Seringah, in Pergunnah Chowsa, now included in the Shahabad District. The Fort of Seringah is about four miles south of the village of Chowsa, and is still surrounded by a lofty mud wall, and a wide and deep dyke about two miles long. It probably would have defied the attacks of the Rajah if he had not obtained from Patna the help of Walter Raymond, the French Sergeant, afterwards so infamous, under the name of Sumroo, for the murder of the English prisoners. With his assistance the Fort was captured, and the Oojene Chief expelled.

Baboo Doorbijey Singh of Seringah

The most troublesome subjects of the Rajah in his new domains were, however, neither Rajahs nor taloukdars, but the Seyngur Rajpoots, zemindars of Pergunnah Luknesur. They refused to pay revenue, attacked and pillaged his treasuries, and when Bulwunt Singh in 1764 A. D. proceeded against them in person at the head of a large force, a desperate conflict, which lasted two days, and in which hundreds of lives were lost, took place. Russerah, the chief village of Luknesur was then surrounded by a dense primeval forest, a few acres of which still remain. The houses of all the zemindars were turreted and loopholed for musketry, so that it was only by the conflagration of the town that the troops of the Rajah were able to drive out the insurgents. At length a compromise was effected; the Rajah forgave the past, and the Seyngurs promised better behaviour for the future. They were left in possession of their estates at a low fixed revenue, and to the present day their descendents reap the benefit of their martial spirit, as their land revenue (nine annas per acre) is the lowest in the whole Benares province, except that of the Mirzapoor hill pergunnahs.

The Seyngurs of Luknesur fight with the Rajah.

While these events were taking place in Ghazeepoor, Bulwunt Singh in the west expelled the Kuntit Rajah from his estates, then under the Nazim of Allahabad, now forming an important part of the Mirzapoor District.

Pergunnah of Kuntit annexed.

In 1760 the Nawab Vizier visited Benares; Bulwunt Singh sent him a handsome offering (a lac and a quarter of rupees), but would not himself approach his Lord Paramount, and it was not till 1763 A.-D., when Shooja-ool-Dowla was preparing to attack the English in Behar, that Bulwunt Singh for the first time in a quarter of a century did homage to the Viceroy of Oudh. He endeavoured to expedite the departure of Shooja-ool-Dowla by letting loose on his camp gangs of thieves, with whom he had a secret understanding, who every night committed depredations without number, and who, when the Oudh troops marched eastward, followed their track and robbed and murdered any stragglers they could find.

The Nawab Vizier visits Benares in 1760.

In the campaign which terminated with the battle of Buxar on 23rd October, 1764, Bulwunt Singh was at the head of a contingent of 2,000 Cavalry and 5,000 Infantry, but he was regarded with distrust by the Viceroy, and was before the battle sent south of the Ganges to occupy the Mohamadabad Pergunnah in the Ghazeepoor District.

The battle of Buxar, 1764.

After the battle, the Emperor Shah Alum, who had endeavoured to dissuade the Vizier from the invasion of Behar, left his camp and joined the English. A treaty was concluded with the Emperor, and by the Royal firmân of the 29th of December, 1764, the country of Ghazeepoor and the rest of the zemindary of Rajah Bulwunt Singh was made over to the English Company. In this firmân special mention is made, that,—"The aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the Chiefs of the English Company, is according thereto to pay the revenues to the Company. (3).

The Emperor Shah Alum makes over by treaty the Benares Province to the English Government, December, 1764

(3) Page 5, Vol. II., Aitchison's Treaties.

Rajah Bulwunt Singh ingratiated himself much with the commanders of our forces by furnishing eight lacs of rupees for the payment of the troops, which were three months in arrears, and he received from our representatives a lease of the Benares Province for a year.

Bulwunt Singh ingratiates himself with the English. He receives a lease of the Province for a year.

During the year 1765 A. D., Mr. Marriott was Resident at Benares, and the chief administrator of the Province. He set himself to work to redress the grievances of the Mahomedans, holders under Royal grants of extensive tracts of land free of revenue. They had been compelled by Rajah Bulwunt Singh to pay for their lands like ordinary land-holders, and in many cases had been altogether dispossessed of them. There were also numerous religious and charitable pensioners, paid partly in cash and partly by assignments on revenues, whom Rajah Bulwunt Singh had deprived of their income.

Mr Marriott, Resident at Benares. His proceedings.

Mr. Marriott investigated the claims of both these classes of recipients of the Royal bounty; he renewed their grants, and prepared a register of their admitted claims.

Three hundred and twenty-three individuals or families were registered as the annual recipients of Rs. 91,002-14-0 per annum from the revenues of the State.

For some time after the Resident was removed from Benares these grants were respected by Bulwunt Singh, but gradually they were resumed, and any that still remained in force were cancelled by Rajah Cheyto Singh, after the transfer of Benares to the East India Company in 1775 A. D. (4).

The Treaty of Benares with the Emperor was disapproved by the Court of Directors, and on the 16th August, 1765, the Treaty of Allahabad between Lord Clive and the Nawab Vizier was signed much against the will of the Vizier. The 5th Article of this Treaty ran as follows:—"His Highness Shooja-ool-Dowla engages in a most solemn manner to continue Bulwunt Singh in the zemindaries of Benares, Ghazeepoor, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nawab Jaffer Ally Khan and the English, on condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore."

Treaty of Benares, 1765

Benares Province restored to the Viceroy. The maintainance of Bulwunt Singh engaged for in the treaty.

It was also agreed that on the 27th November, 1765, on which date the agreement made by Bulwunt Singh with the English expired, that the Nawab should come into possession of the country of Benares. (5).

Before the departure of Lord Clive for England in 1767, the Nawab Vizier went to meet him at Patna for the express purpose of obtaining permission to expel Bulwunt Sing. Lord Clive refused, and, by his direction, a fresh *pottah* or lease of the province was given to the Rajah.

The Nawab Vizier meets Lord Clive in 1767.

After the departure of Lord Clive, the Nawab Vizier again renewed his designs against the Rajah, and on the occasion of the new Governor-General, Mr. John Cartier, visiting Benares, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, he went there to visit him, and offered 10 lacs of rupees on condition that he should be allowed to deprive Bulwunt Singh of the Province. The Governor-General expressed his assent.

Meeting of the Nawab Vizier with the Governor of Bengal, Mr. Cartier.

(4.) Page 40, the Appendix of a Narrative of the Insurrection of Benares, by Warren Hastings, Calcutta, 1782 A. D.

(5) See Page 76, Vol. II., Aitchison's Treaties.

The Vizier, delighted at this concession, gave orders to the commandant of his artillery that when Bulwunt Singh should next come to pay his respects to him, he should not allow any of his followers to accompany him, and should disarm the Rajah and bring him into the audience tent as a prisoner. Bulwunt Singh, when he entered the Vizier's Camp, noticed something in the demeanour of the Nawab's people which excited his suspicion. He gave directions to his followers, that if any attempt to seize him was made, that they should feign a mutiny, and themselves carry him off. At the entrance, the *chobdars* or mace-bearers attempted to deprive Bulwunt Singh of his dagger. In a moment his companions laid hold of the Rajah, poured out on him a volley of abuse; said they would not let him go before the Nawab till he had paid them their wages, and before the officers of the Nawab could recover from their surprise, they had placed the Rajah in his palankeen, and he was on his way to the Governor's Camp. The Nawab, in a fury at the baulking of his plans, followed in hot haste on an elephant. Bulwunt Singh threw himself at Mr. Cartier's feet and demanded protection, alleging that it was only on account of his loyalty to the English that he was regarded with hatred by the Nawab Vizier.

Attempt to seize Bulwunt Singh.

The Nawab demanded the surrender of his vassal; the Governor, in perplexity, told Sir Hector Munro to take Bulwunt Singh apart. The Rajah offered 10 lacs for the Governor and a lac for the Commander-in-Chief if protected. A reply was then given to the Vizier, that he could not be allowed to break an engagement so recently made, and to which Lord Clive had been a party. The Nawab was obliged to give up his design. Bulwunt Singh having obtained his end, neglected to pay the amount he had promised, but the lac due to Sir Hector Munro was afterwards realized from his son Cheyte Singh by Sir Eyre Coote.

Bulwunt Singh protected by the Governor.

In his old age, Bulwunt Singh began to indulge in vices more commonly those of the young, and impaired his constitution by drinking potions intended to invigorate it. During the last year of his life he was unable to attend to business. The country became disordered, rebellious, and tumults occurred in Jounpoor, the authority of his deputies was weakened, and some of them were expelled. While on his way to repress these disturbances, his illness increasing, he turned back, and on his way to Ramnuggur died on the 16th of Bhadon, 1177 Fusly, or 1184 Hijree, corresponding with the 22nd August, 1770 A. D.

Last years of his life; his death on August, 22nd, 1770.

The success of Bulwunt Singh in his ambitious projects is, I think, to be attributed to the adaptation of his character to the circumstances in which he was placed, and to the state of India at the time His character was of the Mahratta type. He was hampered by none of those sentiments of honor which have often induced Rajpoots and Mussulmans of the old schoo to prefer death to disgrace; treacherous, unscrupulous, skilled in allaying the suspicions of others, his own cautious vigilance never slept. Brave and willing to fight when fighting was politic, he preferred to use gold rather than steel, and rarely attempted an enterprize in which success was doubtful. Cruel and vindictive towards fallen foes, he was ever willing to forgive the injuries of the powerful, and in cases where he could not destroy his enemies, he accepted them without hesitation as friends and allies. During the latter years of his administration he was shrewd enough to see that the English were destined to become the masters of Hindoostan, and that the best hope of maintaining the greatness of his family lay in associating it with the fortunes of the conquering race.

Character of Bulwunt Singh.

Bulwunt Singh at his death left a territory, in common parlance, said to contain ninety-six pergunnahs, though it is not easy to give an exact and certain list of them all. Of this immense tract of country more than half he had himself acquired. He received, on the expulsion of Roostum Ali, the three Sircars of Benares, Jounpoor, and Chunar, with an

Extent of his dominions at the time of his death.

area much diminished since the time of Akber. Many of the pergunnahs of the last two Sircars had been united to Ghazeepoor or to Fyzabad. To this district he added the immense Pergunnahs of Bhudohee and Kuntit from Allahabad; Keyra Mugror, Bidjeygurh, and Agoree Burhur, formerly in the Sircar of Rhotas, from Shahabad and the twenty-two pergunnahs of Ghazeepoor. This extension of territory, great though it was, had a much less important influence on the power and wealth of the Rajah than the changes he was able to effect in the internal administration. Many of these pergunnahs before his time were held by great land-holders, of whom the Rajahs of Kuntit, Bidjeygurh, Agoree, Burhur, and Bulliah, were amongst the chief. These pergunnah zemindars, under the Mahomedan Government, paid their land revenue for the whole of their estates to the Governor, and collected from the cultivators and smaller land-owners a much larger sum. Every one of the pergunnah zemindars, and a large number of the village proprietors, were ejected by Bulwunt Singh from their estates. The extent of country from which the ancestral owners were altogether dispossessed was estimated by Mr. Duncan at one-third of the Province. The village proprietary bodies were for the most part allowed to remain in possession, but their status was changed. They were reduced to the condition of cultivators, and obliged to pay the total annual assets of the village, except a trifling gratuity for their support, called *nankar* and *maâfee mamoolee*. The total amount of these annual remissions in the Province was estimated at only one lac of rupees. (6) The Seyngurs of Pergunnah Lucknesur in the Ghazeepoor District were almost the only zemindars in the whole Province who preserved intact their proprietary right, and continued during the administration of Bulwunt Singh to enjoy a substantial beneficial interest in their estates other than mere profits as cultivators. or those remissions which the Rajah allowed to the village owners with a niggard hand. So completely was proprietary right in abeyance throughout the Province, that Mr. Neave, Assistant to the Resident of Benares, when deputed to make the settlement of Jounpoor in 1788, reported to the Resident, Mr. Duncan, that in the whole district there was not a single zemindar. The increase in the land revenue paid to the Nawab Vizier bore no proportion to the augmentation of the Rajahs receipts from the Province. At the time of Bulwunt Singh's death the net revenue was Rs. 19,98,449. The annual profits of the Rajah certainly exceeded 25 lacs, or a quarter of a million sterling, and it has been estimated by one authority at a much larger sum (7). *(See Note C.)*

Internal administration of the Province; expulsion of the landholders; extinction of proprietary right.

SECTION IV.

Cheyte Singh.

On the death of Rajah Bulwunt Singh there were three claimants for the succession : Munear Singh, Maheep Narain, and Cheyte Singh.

Three claimants to succeed Rajah Bulwunt Singh

The first of these, Munear Singh, was the grandson of Daya Ram, brother of Munsa Ram, and was consequently son of Bulwunt Singh's first cousin. Bulwunt Singh was much attached to him, and had adopted him as his son before he had any family of his own.

Munear Singh.

The second claimant, Maheep Narain, who became Rajah after the rebellion and flight of Cheyte Singh, was the son of Bulwunt Singh's daughter, and only child by his first and principal wife Ranee Goolab Kooar. Goolab Kooar was the daughter of Buryar Singh, zemindar of Kole Asla

Maheep Narain.

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(6) See page 43, Appendix to Warren Hastings' Narrative, Calcutta, 1782, page 52, Aitchison's Treatise, Vol. II.

(7) See Mr J. Grant's Review of the Revenues of Bengal, February 28, 1788, page 543, Vol. 1 of the Fifth Report, Madras Edition of 1866. Mr. Grant's estimates of Revenue are, however, never reliable, and always excessive and exaggerated.

Pergunnah, and owner of the Fort of Pindra, a few miles north of Benares. Buryar Singh was one of the proudest and most formidable of Munsa Ram's rivals during the administration of Roostum Ali. When Munsa Ram found that he was unable to crush him, he proposed that his son Bulwunt Singh should marry the daughter of Buryar Singh. Ranee Goolab Kooar was a person of much force of character, and during the time of her grandson Maheep Narain and his successor Oodit Narain she had great influence. Bulwunt Singh's daughter was married to Doorbijey Singh, a zemindar of Sursa in Tirhoot, to whom Bulwunt Singh allotted the Mahaitch Pergunnah as a jagheer. Maheep Narain was only about seven years old at the time of his grandfather's death, but his claims were strongly advocated by his grandmother, who proposed that, till he became of age, his father Doorbijey should act for him.

The third claimant, Cheyte Singh, was Rajah Bulwunt Singh's son. The author of the *Bulwuntnamah* states that his mother was a Chundel Rajpoot woman of Bidjeygurh. She is sometimes said to have been a slave girl. The actual fact is, as I have been informed by Rajah Sir Deo Narain Singh and many other well informed persons, that Cheyte Singh's mother was a daughter of a zemindar of the Rajpoot tribe, who occupy the Burhul Pergunnah in the Benares District, of which Sakuldeeha is the chief village. The members of this tribe take the prefix of Thakooreeah before their names. Her father had opposed the authority of the Rajah, who attacked and plundered his house, and carried off his daughter, named Pauna, whom, being young and beautiful, he made his wife. The marriage of a Bhoonhar Brahmin with a Rajpoot is not legal. It will be seen that the whole career of Cheyte Singh was materially affected by the illegitimacy of his birth.

Cheyte Singh.

For sometime before the death of Rajah Bulwunt Singh, the most conspicuous and influential of the chiefs and councillors by whom he was surrounded was the Dewan Baboo Ousan Singh. The Rajah of Sydpoor Bhitree, Sir Deo Narain Singh, K.C.S.I., whose loyalty during the mutiny was of the right sort, unwavering, hearty, and active, is the great grandson of Ousan Singh. Sir Deo Narain Singh informs me that Bulwunt Singh before his death bound Ousan Singh by the most awful imprecations and the most solemn oaths to make his son Cheyte Singh Rajah after him. Whatever weight be attached to this tradition, the fact is certain that Cheyte Singh became Rajah only through the energy and activity of Ousan Singh. He secured the treasury; promised to the Nawab Vizier an offering of 22 lacs from Cheyte Singh, despatched envoys to Calcutta to secure the recognition of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and sent for the Rajah of Bidjeygurh, a descendent of the murdered Pirthiput, to confer on him the *tiluk* or mark on the forehead which is conferred on a Rajah at his investiture.

Baboo Ousan Singh secures the succession for Cheyte Singh.

The Nawab Vizier set out from Fyzabad on hearing of the death of his great vassal. He was met at Jounpoor by Cheyte Singh, who, instructed by his experienced adviser Ousan Singh, addressed the Nawab with the utmost humility, talked of becoming Mahomedan, offered his principality to the Nawab, professed himself his slave, and asked only for daily bread, and a place near his master. The Nawab was charmed. He was prevailed on to pursue his journey, and reached Ramnuggur, the palatial fort of the Rajah, on the 25th Jumad-ool-awal, 1184 H., after a few days stay at Benares. At Ramnuggur, the throne of the Nawab was placed on a base of 1¼ lacs of rupees, the most costly presents were bestowed on all his followers, and for the Nawab himself there was an offering of 45 sets of costly garments; 2 trays full of precious stones and jewels, 15 magnificent horses, and 5 elephants. The Rajah placed beneath the feet of the Nawab an inventory of all his worldly possessions, and received them back as a gift. At the Nawab's desire, Asuf-ool-dowla, his son, and Cheyte Singh, exchanged turbans, and thus became adopted brothers. All the chiefs and followers of the Rajah were summoned and commanded by the Nawab Vizier to pay loyal deference to the commands of their new master.

The Nawab Vizier visits Benares and makes over the Province to Cheyte Singh.

In the rainy season of 1773 A. D. a meeting at Benares was arranged between the Governor-General and the Nawab Vizier to discuss the affairs of the Rohilla Afghans. Cheyte Singh went to Sydpoor, in the Ghazeepoor District, to meet the Governor-General. While he was there the Nawab Vizier arrived at Jounpoor. He was much incensed to find that his vassal had gone to meet the Governor-General instead of coming to attend upon himself. Ilich Khan, the chief adviser of the Nawab, who was friendly to Cheyte Singh, sent a camel sowar to bid him come with all speed to meet the Vizier. Cheyte Singh, taking his leave from Warren Hastings, galloped off to Benares and arrived there just as the Nawab was entering Sheopoor near the present Civil Station. He dismounted from his horse and ran up to the elephant of the Nawab, holding in his hands, as a *nuzzur*, a bag full of gold-mohurs. The Nawab did not take the slightest notice of him, and the Rajah ran beside the elephant a considerable distance, holding the bag till, at a sign from Ilich Khan, the driver made the animal take it up on his trunk, and deposit it in the howdah where the Nawab sat.

The Governor-General and Nawab Vizier meet at Benares, 1773. Cheyte Singh offends the Nawab Vizier.

At the conference which resulted on the Treaty of September, 1773, the Nawab proposed to Hastings that he should be allowed to expel Cheyte Singh from his estates. Hastings refused permission, and at his suggestion, the Nawab gave to Cheyte Singh a *sunnud* making over all his estates to him and his heirs for ever at a perpetual fixed revenue of Rs. 22,48,449, being an increase of 2½ lacs on the revenue paid by Bulwunt Singh (8). Warren Hastings, in his narrative of the affairs of Benares, mentions this transaction as follows: "The first legal title that his family ever possessed of "property in the land of which he (Cheyte Singh) till then was only the *amil*, and of "which he became the acknowledged zemindar by a *sunnud* granted to him by the Nawab "Shujah-ool-Dowla in the month of September, 1773." (9). There is some foundation for this statement, as the *sunnud* conferred a fixity of revenue as well as of tenure, but it ignores the fact that in the firmân of the Emperor of Delhi of 29th December, 1764, conferring the Benares Province on the Company, it is called the zemindary of Bulwunt Singh (10), and that for parts of his estates, *viz.*, Keyra Mugror and Bhudohee, Bulwunt Singh held grants from the Emperor and Nawab Vizier. In this very *sunnud* the Nawab says "the muhals which were under the charge of Rajah Bulwunt Singh, deceased, I do hereby grant unto you *upon their former footing*." The real and essential difference effected by the *sunnud* was the all-important one, that before it was granted, whatever Bulwunt Singh may have been, Cheyte Singh was a mere tenant-at-will, liable to be ejected at any moment, and by the grant of this *sunnud* at the instigation of the Governor-General, he came under the protection of the English Government.

The Treaty of Benares, September, 1773; the Governor-General procures a *sunnud* for the Rajah.

In the family, and in the councils of the Rajah, internal feuds and dissensions had meanwhile arisen and attained formidable dimensions. For some time after his accession, Cheyte Singh, aware of the illegitimacy of his descent, did not venture to claim caste equality by proposing to eat with his kinsmen or with Ousan Singh, who was of the same tribe of Bhoonhar Brahmins. At length he made overtures to the adopted son of his father, Baboo Muneear Singh, who rejected them in the most definite terms. Alarmed at the resentment of the Rajah which he had thus provoked, Muneear Singh fled to Jhoosee near Allahabad. All his property was attacked by Cheyte Singh. Not long after this occurrence, the wife of Rajah Cheyte Singh's younger brother died. A funeral feast was an essential part of her obsequies. The Rajah bid Ousan Singh summon his kinsmen to attend it. They were sent for and agreed to take part in it if Ousan Singh, the Dewan, would do so. Ousan Singh

Feuds and dissensions in the household of the Rajah. Flight of Ousan Singh.

(8) Page 84, Volume II., Aitchison's Treaties.

(9) Page 8, Warren Hastings' Narrative, Calcutta, 1782 A. D.

(10) Page 6, Volume II., Aitchison's Treaties.

declined to attend the feast, feigned sickness, retired to his house at Ramnuggur, and thence to his own home, whence he fled after a few days to Allahabad. On his way he fell in with Muneear Singh at Jhoosee, and for a while stayed with him; afterwards they both went to Sultanpoor in Oudh. At the request of Cheyte Singh orders were issued by the Nawab Vizier that no asylum was to be given to the fugitives in his dominions. Muneear Singh came to terms with the Rajah and returned to Ramnuggur. Ousan Singh fled to Moorshedabad. His house at Ramnuggur was pillaged, the brothers of his wife were seized by Cheyte Singh and closely imprisoned; an insufficient supply of water was allowed them, and with their own hands they excavated a well within the chamber where they were confined, which is, I believe, still in existence. (*See Note D.*)

Death of Shoojah-ool-Dowla, 1774 A. D.
The Mahomedan mâafeedars obtain orders for reinstatement in their rent-free grants from Asuf-ool-Dowla.

In 1774 A. D. Shoojah-ool-Dowla died, and was succeeded by his son Asuf-ool-Dowla. On the accession of the new Nawab Vizier, the ejected Mahomedan mâafeedars of the Benares Province obtained from him purwannahs to the Rajah directing their restoration to their villages, and exemption from revenue. On their presenting them, Cheyte Singh refused to act on any communication not made direct to himself by the Vizier and his Finance Minister.

Treaty of Lucknow. The Benares Province ceded to the Company, 1775.

On the 21st of May, 1775 A. D., Mr. Bristow, Resident at Lucknow, the nominee of Sir Philip Francis and the Councillors, induced the new Nawab Vizier to sign a treaty ceding "unto the English Company all the districts dependent on the Rajah Cheyte Singh, together with the land and water duties, and the sovereignty of the said districts in perpetuity." (11)

Sunnud granted to Cheyte Singh, 1776.

After the lapse of a year, on the 15th of April, 1776, a *sunnud* was granted to Rajah Cheyte Singh by our Government (12) confirming him in the zemindary or ownership of the Province. The Ameeny (or Civil), and the Foujdaree (or Criminal Jurisdiction), the Kutwalies (or Police) of the cities of Jounpoor and Benares, and the Mint of Benares, Customs duties, and a number of monopolies, on payment per annum of Calcutta Sicca rupees 22,66,180 if paid in Benares, or 22,21,745 if paid in Calcutta. The Rajah was enjoined to abstain from collecting prohibited cesses, to punish criminals, and to improve the cultivation of the country. The rates of Custom duties were also fixed and articles on which these were to be levied, *viz.*, cloth, metals, cotton, silks, spices, and betelnuts. Eight Custom houses were established, and it would appear from the schedule that goods having paid duties at one place were not exempted from again paying at others. No mention is made in the *sunnud* granted to the Rajah, nor in the corresponding *pottah* and *kubooleat* (lease and counterpart) of the period for which the annual revenue was fixed.

Mr. Francis Fowke sent as Resident to Benares, 1775.

After the transfer of Benares to the British Government, Mr. Francis Fowke, a dependant of Sir P. Francis, was, through his influence, appointed Resident at Benares. (13)

Serious religious disturbances in Jounpoor.

In 1776 very serious disturbances occurred in Jounpoor. A wealthy Hindoo Mahajun erected a Hindoo temple between two of the most venerated of the city mosques. The fanatic Mahomedans assembled, demolished the temple, erected a mosque on its site, took possession of the city, and defied the authority of the Rajah. Cheyte Singh first tried by bribing some of the ringleaders, and gaining them over to settle the disturbances without fighting; failing in this he sent a force against the Mahomedans, and incited the Rajpoots of the neighbourhood to rise and pillage the city. The Mussulmans

(11.) Page 88, Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. II.

(12.) Page 45, Vol. II., Aitchison's Treaties.

(13.) See page 64, Vol. II., Life of Sir P. Francis (Parkes and Merivale)

twice repulsed the Hindoos with considerable loss of life. But finding that they could not hope for permanent success, the ringleaders left Jounpoor, and fled to the country of the Nawab Vizier. The mosque was demolished, and the authority of the Rajah restored. It is worthy of remark that the Resident, Mr. Fowke, though applied to by the contending parties, refused to interfere, and seems to have thought that, so long as the revenue was regularly paid, he had no concern with the internal administration of the Province.

Dissension between Governor-General and three Councillors. Cheyte Singh joins the Councillors.

In the dissensions which took place between the Governor-General and the three Councillors Francis, Clavering, and Monson, every native took a side. Cheyte Singh, knowing that it was under the auspices of the Councillors that his country had been transferred to the English, and that the Resident Fowke was one of their party, concluded that theirs was the strongest faction, and himself joined it. His vakeel in Calcutta made a large offering to General Clavering, and neglected the Governor-General. Warren Hastings was not the man to pass over an injury of the kind without resentment, particularly from one who had been secured in the possession of his estates only through his influence.

Hastings becomes absolute. Fowke removed; Mr. Thomas Graham sent to Benares

On the death of Colonel Monson, in September, 1776, there were left only four members of the Government, Clavering and Francis were on one side; Barwell and the Governor-General on the other, and the Governor-General had the casting vote; Hastings, thus become absolute, proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries, and displaced their creatures. Fowke was removed from Benares; Mr. Thomas Graham, whom Hastings formerly appointed manager of the Burdwan Rajah's estates, was sent in his place. (14)

The Governor General orders the Rajah to provide a jagheer for Ousan Singh.

Soon afterwards Baboo Ousan Singh, without any solicitation or advances on his part, was summoned from his retreat at Moorshedabad, taken under the protection of Government, and sent back to Benares. The Rajah was ordered to release from confinement the relations of Ousan Singh, and to provide for his support a jagheer to the annual value of Rs. 50,000. After long continued negociations, the Rajah complied with these demands, and made over to him the pergunnah of Sydpoor Bhitree in the Ghazeepoor District. In the account which Warren Hastings, in September, 1781, gave of his transactions with Rajah Cheyte Singh, no mention of the compulsory grant of this jagheer is made. This transaction, I think, is sufficient to prove beyond the possibility of doubt that there was in the mind of Warren Hastings a deliberate purpose of subjecting Cheyte Singh to the most bitter humiliation as a punishment for his ingratitude and desertion of his cause. Ousan Singh was hated by the Rajah as a man to whom he owed everything, but whom he had treated with ingratitude, and as a servant who had defied his authority and refused to admit him to caste equality. The order which directed his pardon and restoration to wealth and honor was, therefore, the most bitter and degrading which could have been imposed on Cheyte Singh. The issue of this order was not justified by the relative position of the Rajah and of our Government, nor were there any reasons of public policy or obligations due by our Government to Ousan Sing which could excuse the Governor-General in usurping an authority which he did not possess. (15)

The first extraordinary subsidy of five lacs, 1778 A. D.

In July, 1778, Warren Hastings demanded from Cheyte Singh an extraordinary subsidy of 5 lacs of rupees over and above his fixed annual payment, on account of the urgent wants of Government caused by the breaking out of war with France. This demand

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(14) See page 7273, Vol. II., Life of Sir P Francis. (Parkes and Merivale).

(15) In Sir P. Francis' Journal 3rd September, 1777, the following entry occurs:—" By something that passed this day in Council I suspect that Hastings is laying the ground to torment, if not to dispossess, the Rajah of Benares." Page 97, Vol. II, Life of Sir P. Francis. (Parkes and Merivale.)

was one justified by the circumstances of the case and necessities of Government. The revenue paid by Cheyte Singh was very low, leaving him an immense annual surplus. The extraordinary subsidy did not exceed a fifth of the annual profits of the Rajah, and he could easily have liquidated ten times the amount from his enormous accumulations of treasure. But at the same time it is not possible to suppose that Warren Hastings, in making this requisition, was not in some degree actuated by the personal animosity which wholly influenced him in his interference in behalf of Ousan Singh. It was not to be expected that the Rajah could avoid judging of one transaction by the light of the other. The orders of Government, even if enforced with the utmost delicacy, tact, and courtesy, would have been in the highest degree offensive to the Rajah, but carried out as they were by Mr. Thomas Graham, they reduced him to a condition of misery that might have moved the pity of an enemy. (16.)

The two Moulvees Mr. Graham's confidential agents. They plunder the Rajah.

Mr. Graham, instead of transacting all his business personally with the Rajah, used as his medium of communication with him two unprincipled Mahomedan adventurers, Moulvee Ali-ool-deen Koobra and Zein-ool-ab-deen. The first of these worthies had begun life as tutor in the family of a Hindoo merchant. The second, Zein-ool-ab-deen, was his pupil, whom he had inveigled away from his employer's house and converted to Mahomedanism. The teacher and pupil set up in Benares as expounders of the law, Physicians, Astrologers, and Diviners of the future. They obtained an introduction to Mr. Graham, attracted his attention by their artful cleverness, and in a little time became his trusted confidential advisers and agents. They acquired in this way unbounded influence over the fears of Cheyte Singh, and he became to them an inexhaustible fountain of riches. Their regular salary from the Rajah of Rs. 800 a month they regarded merely as an insignificant retaining fee which required to be frequently supplemented by substantial refreshers. The actual demands of Mr. Graham and the Governor-General afforded them no contemptible means for exacting money; but they availed themselves of their position as confidential go-betweens to alarm the Rajah by threats and to annoy him by requests of which Mr. Graham never dreamt. One day, for example, Moulvee Ali-ool-deen informed the Rajah that the Resident was ill, that the doctor had prescribed the application of an oil made from the heads of red ants, and that he was without delay to furnish three and a half seers of the required article. The Rajah, a Brahmin, forbidden by his religion to take the life of the meanest insect, was horror struck at the demand, and was only too glad to purchase the intercession and good offices of the all-powerful Moulvee by a bribe of thousands of rupees.

Second extraordinary subsidy 1779 A. D.

In 1779 A. D. a second extraordinary demand of five lacs of rupees was made from the Rajah, who attempted to evade it, affecting to borrow money in small sums, and to sell his plate and jewels to raise it, and it was not realized till two battalions of Sepoys had been quartered at Ramnuggur to be maintained at his expense. (17) The Rajah on this occasion meditated open resistance and rebellion, but was prevented by the Moulvees, who persuaded him that Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, who just at that time was marching from Calcutta to the east, had the special object of his chastisement in view.

Sir Eyre Coote comes up country and visits Benares.

The Rajah, terrified, abandoned his design, and sent his brother Shoojan Singh to meet the Commander-in-Chief, and to appease him. Mr. Graham meanwhile had gone from Benares to meet the General, and had given so unfavourable an account of Cheyte Singh's conduct, that instead of receiving his ambassador, Sir E. Coote ordered his boat to be cut adrift from the fleet then anchored at Buxar. It was, at the time of this occurrence, the middle of the rainy season. The river was at its greatest height; there

(16) Page 3, Warren Hastings' Narrative, Calcutta, 1782 A. D.

(17.) Page 3, Warren Hastings' Narrative.

were no boatmen in the barge, and the time was night. Not without much difficulty and serious danger was the opposite shore gained. Shoojan Singh, afraid to return to his brother after so unsuccessful a mission, was in a state of the utmost misery and despair, when he fell in with the author of the *Bulwuntnamah*, then confidential Moonshee of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Civil Commissioner with the Commander-in-Chief. Through Mr. Vansittart's intercession, Sir Eyre Coote received Rajah Cheyte Singh's brother, and afterwards accepted the hospitality of the Rajah himself at Ghazeepoor and Ramnuggur.

Sir Hector Munro's lac of rupees.

It is narrated in the *Bulwuntnamah* that Sir Eyre Coote, at Ramnuggur, urged, on behalf of his friend Sir Hector Munro, the payment of the lac of rupees promised by Bulwunt Singh to him years before but never paid. The Rajah first annoyed the General by repudiating the demand; then spent more than the required amount in bribes to various persons who promised to intercede for him and to procure its remission, and finally paid the money. For Rajah Cheyte Singh all his life long the trite adage might have been changed, for it was ever his fate to pay slowly and to pay double.

Francis Fowke sent as Resident to Benares.

On the occasion of a temporary reconciliation between Mr. Francis and Warren Hastings, Thomas Graham was removed from Benares, and Francis Fowke was again re-appointed there. (18.)

The elder of the Moulvees accompanied his patron to Benares. The younger of them was dismissed by the Rajah. Mr Fowke treated the Rajah with easy complacence, which, however, had no result in rendering his relations with our Government more satisfactory.

Sadanund, the confidential servant of Rajah Cheyte Singh, visits Calcutta; the third extraordinary subsidy, 1780.

In May, 1780, Sadanund, the confidential servant of the Rajah, was deputed to Calcutta to wait on the Governor-General to ask forgiveness for the past, and to promise amendment for the future. (19). These overtures were accepted by the Governor-General and promises were given by the agent of the Rajah and by the Rajah himself for the prompt payment of the third subsidy of 5 lacs of rupees. This sum was allotted by the Governor-General for the payment of the army employed against the Mahrattas. Meanwhile, in July, 1780, the old quarrel between Francis and Hastings broke out afresh. The Rajah, repenting his repentance, broke his promise. The troops employed in the Mahratta war, not receiving their pay, suffered the greatest distresses. Numerous desertions took place, and the money was not paid till the expedient practised in 1779 A. D. had been again put in force and Sepoys sent to Ramnuggur. (20)

Disaffection of the people and the servants of the Rajah in the Ghazeepoor District towards the English Government.

While these events were taking place at Ramnuggur, the conduct of the country people and of the Rajah's servants in the Ghazeepoor district gave indications of the disaffection of the Rajah himself.

As early as 1778 A. D. the zemindars in the neighbourhood of the Fort of Buxar gave out publicly that the English would not long possess the country, and they got possession of two 24-pounders which had been sunk in a boat on its way to Chunar, saying that the English would not need them, but they themselves would. In 1779 attacks were frequently made on the servants of the officers at Buxar and the Sepoys when they ventured into Cheyte Singh's country. The Buxar Chowdhry who ventured to cross the river was imprisoned 19 days in irons, and fined 53 rupees by the zemindars of Narainpoor; no redress for these grievances could be obtained from the officers of the Rajah, and in one case the Rajah's Foujdar at Bulliah, when applied to for help by three Sepoys sent to purchase grain, caused them to be stripped of their arms, and beaten almost to death. At last, in November, 1780 A. D., three young officers on their way to

(18.) Page 185, Vol. II., Sir P. Francis' Life.

(19.) Page 3, Warren Hastings' Narrative.

(20) Page 5, Warren Hastings' Narrative.

join the army were attacked and plundered, their servants beaten, and one of them (Mr. Basset) dangerously wounded by the cut of a *tulwar* across the forehead. Repeated representations of these outrages were made by Captan Eaton, the Commandant at Buxar, to the Residents at Benares, Mr. Graham, and afterwards Mr. Fowke. No redress was afforded by the Rajah, and his agents were constantly employed in tampering with the fidelity of the Sepoys of the Buxar garrison. (21) Many Sepoys thus enticed deserted and took service with the Rajah. The military force of Cheyte Singh was increased, and his regular troops numbered 7,690 of all arms, of whom 340 were artillerymen, and about 3,000 cavalry. (22)

Francis Fowke dismissed and Markham appointed Resident.

Mr. Fowke, who appears to have been a man utterly unfit for the difficult and delicate post which he occupied, was dismissed by Warren Hastings on the occasion of his old quarrel with Mr. Francis breaking out again, and Mr. Markham was sent as Resident to Benares.

Critical position of the British power in India.

At this crisis, the British power in India was threatened with the most alarming dangers. Hyder Ally had devastated the Carnatic with an irresistible army up to the gates of Madras, and a confederacy had been formed by him with the Nizam and all the Mahratta Chiefs, except one, for the expulsion of the English from India by a simultaneous attack on the three Presidencies.

Cheyte Singh called on to furnish a Cavalry contingent; fails to do so.

The Government were in the greatest straits for men and money. The crisis was one well adapted to test the fidelity of a feudatory; Cheyte Singh were augmented and his want of loyalty abundantly proved. He was called on by Government to furnish all the Cavalry whom he could spare to be employed as a contingent on the south. The demand was afterwards made definite, first for 1,500, and afterwards 1,000 horsemen. When Mr. Markham succeeded Mr. Fowke this demand was repeated to the Rajah with frequent and almost daily importunity. He returned evasive answers, but did not furnish a single trooper. (23)

The Governor-General determines to fine him 50 lacs.

The Governor-General was much incensed at the disloyal conduct of the Rajah, and determined to inflict on him a fine of 50 lacs of rupees, (24) a punishment which would at the same time meet the measure of his offences, diminish his power for mischief, and supply the urgent and pressing wants of the Government for money. He proposed, in the event of Cheyte Singh refusing to pay the fine, either to depose him, or to make over his country to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.

Cheyte Singh with a large force goes to Buxar to meet the Governor-General.

Starting from Calcutta on the 7th July, 1781, with this intention, he proceeded by river to Benares. At Buxar Cheyte Singh, accompanied by a fleet, crowded with two thousand armed and chosen men, met the Governor-General. The country along the river, from Buxar to Benares on both banks, was also occupied by masses of the Infantry and Cavalry of the Rajah, who was prepared, in the event of any attempt being made to seize him, to overpower the slender retinue of the Governor-General. (25)

Two meetings of the Rajah and Warren Hastings.

Warren Hastings received Cheyte Singh with civility in a public interview; afterwards the Rajah sought him alone in his pinnace, took off his turban, threw himself at the feet of the Governor-General, and professed the deepest repentance for the past, and perfect

(21). Pages 151 to 157, the Appendices to Warren Hastings' Narrative.
(22). Page 43, Warren Hastings' Narrative.
(23). Page 6, Warren Hastings' Narrative.
(24). Page 13, Warren Hastings' Narrative.
(25). Page 1, Warren Hastings' Narrative

resignation to his commands. It is, I think, much to be regretted that the Governor-General did not then himself announce to the Rajah the punishment proposed for him, and test the sincerity of his professions of submission. Warren Hastings heard, unmoved, his tears and entreaties, and preserved a demeanour of cold severity; the Rajah, unable to obtain a single word of encouragement or consolation, departed. (26) He knew that his enemies, Ousan Singh and the Moulvees, were in the suite of the Governor-General, and he had, from the rejection of his supplications, too much reason to believe that his case was hopeless, and that his utter destruction, rather than his chastisement, was meditated.

Paper of charges against the Rajah sent to him through the Resident.

On the 14th August Warren Hastings arrived at Benares. The Rajah came a few hours later. He went to call on the Governor-General, but his visit was not received, and he was required not to repeat it without permission, as some previous business had to be transacted with him through the Resident. On the following morning, the 15th August, Mr. Markham waited on the Rajah with a letter from the Governor-General recapitulating his offences and demanding explanation. (27) The charges against the Rajah were :—I. Delay in payment of the required subsidy, which had caused serious inconvenience and injury to the Public Service.

II. Refusal to furnish Cavalry contingent required.

III. Instigation of sedition.

IV. Neglect of maintaining order and repressal of crime in his zemindary.

Reply.

On the same evening Cheyte Singh sent an answer to this letter which Warren Hastings characterises as "not only unsatisfactory in substance, but offensive in style; and less a vindication of himself than a recrimmination on me." If we can forget that the Rajah had already humbled himself to the dust, this description is not untrue, but when this is remembered, the letter reads like the dignified defence of a man who, having been once rejected as a suppliant, thinks it useless again to lower himself by unmanly entreaties.

Arrest of Cheyte Singh.

On the following morning, the 16th August, the Resident, with his own guard followed by two companies of Sepoys, proceeded to the house of the Rajah at Shewala Ghat, and by the orders of the Governor-General took him into arrest. No resistance was made by the Rajah, and he professed perfect submission, sending two letters of entreaty to the Governor-General, to which a favourable reply was sent.

The massacre of Shewala Ghat.

Meanwhile Mr. Markham, with his own guard, had left the Rajah's house. The Sepoys left in charge of the Rajah, under three English officers, were unprovided with ammunition. The relations and dependents of the Rajah, with large bodies of his troops, surrounded the house, and many of them entered the place, and mingled themselves with our Sepoys. Another company of Sepoys, sent under an officer with ammunition to re-inforce and support the first party, partly found the house surrounded with an overpowering force of armed men, and were unable to effect an entrance. Just at this time a *chobdar* or mace bearer, named Cheyte Ram, was sent by Mr. Markham to the Rajah to tell him that his letters had been favourably received, and that everything was going on well, but that if any blood was shed or disturbance created all would be lost. This man addressed the Rajah in an insolent manner, saying that he was Cheyte Ram, and the Rajah only Cheyte Singh; that every servant of the Company was as the Company, and that if one of them was touched he would tie a rope on the Rajah and drag him through the streets. This occurrence appears to have hastened, though it probably did not

(26.) Page 2, Warren Hastings' Narrative.

(27.) Page 15, Warren Hastings' Narrative.

occasion, the tragedy which followed. The troops, shut up in a narrow space, unprovided with their usual arms, were attacked, all the officers, and nearly all the Sepoys, were killed. The mischief-working Moulvee Ali-ool-deen Koobra, who had gone to gloat over the misfortunes of the Rajah, met the same fate. Cheyte Singh, in the confusion, fled to Ramnuggur, and thence to the Fort of Lutteefpoor (28).

General insurrection.

The flight of the Rajah was the signal for a general insurrection through the whole Benares Province and the adjacent districts of Oudh and Behar. The posts were stopped, communications of every kind cut off, European travellers and soldiers, wherever they were found, were attacked and murdered, or sent as prisoners to the Rajah. The position of the Governor-General in the garden of Madho Doss in Benares was a most critical one. His troops were few, the place incapable of defence, and the insurgents flushed with their first success.

Failure of the attack on Ramnuggur.

On the 20th of August, four days after the tragedy at Showala Ghat, another great disaster occurred: an ill-advised and badly managed attack on the Fort of Ramnuggur was repulsed with the loss of 107 killed and 72 wounded.

Flight of Warren Hastings.

On that night, Warren Hastings, with the scanty remains of his force, made his way unobserved and in safety to the fortress of Chunar. Letters and messages were received from Cheyte Singh stating that he was innocent of the bloodshed in the massacre at Showala Ghat, and that it was only from fear that he had fled from Benares. To those representations the Governor-General made no reply. His forces were augmented by the arrival of detachments from Buxar and other places, and he placed them under the command of Major Popham, not the senior officer present, but the captor of Gwalior, and one of the most skilful soldiers of the age.

Forces of the Rajah. They are defeated and attacked at the rear.

Meanwhile the Rajah had collected an army of about 20,000 soldiers and the same number of villagers. The greater part of this force was in position about five miles east of Chunar, near the Fort of Putteetah, and in the country at the foot of the Vindyan Hills between Puteetah and Lutteefpoor, which is seven miles further east. Major Popham, on the 15th September, 1781, sent a detachment by a most difficult and circuitous route through the hills to occupy the Sookroot Pass, through which runs the road from Lutteefpoor to Bidjeygurh, the strongest of the forts of the Rajah, where was his family and the bulk of his treasure. The detachment, after most difficult marches for five days, attained their position. On the 20th September they were attacked by a body of rebels whom they with ease defeated. On the same day the position of the enemy was assailed from Chunar, and the Fort of Putteetah captured.

Flight of Cheyte Singh.

Cheyte Singh, finding himself surrounded in Lutteefpoor, and his direct communication with Bidjeygurh cut off, abandoned the fort, and fled by a circuitous route to Bidjeygurh. After remaining there a few days, he fled with his family and treasure to the value of forty lacs, or £400,000 sterling, to the west, and found an asylum in Gwalior, where he survived for 29 years.

Warren Hastings returns to Benares; restoration of tranquility.

Immediately after the flight of the Rajah from Lutteefpoor his army deserted, and the whole country at once settled down. Bidjeygurh Fort was not indeed surrendered till November, but on the 25th September Warren Hastings took possession of Ramnuggur, and issued a proclamation offering pardon to all the insurgents except Cheyte Singh, and

(28) Pages 20 to 26, Warren Hastings' Narrative; pages 180 to 189, the Appendix and the *Bulwuntnamah*. The account of the further progress and suppression of the rebellion is taken from Warren Hastings' Narrative.

his brother Shoojan Singh, and those persons who had been concerned in the murder and plunder of Europeans. On the 28th September Warren Hastings again resumed his old quarters in Madho Dass' bagh, and recognized as Rajah of Benares Maheep Narain, grandson of Rajah Bulwunt Singh, and of his Ranee Goolab Kooar, then a young man of eighteen years of age.

Cheyte Singh owed every thing to the English Government.

It is impossible to study the history of the rise and fall of the greatness of the Benares Rajahs without the conviction that the view held by Warren Hastings was the correct one, and that Rajah Cheyte Singh was Lord of Benares only through the favour and interposition of the English Government, and was bound to that Government by the strongest ties.

The power of Bulwunt Singh and of Cheyte Singh different in kind as well as in degree.

The power and greatness of Rajah Bulwunt Singh and of Rajah Cheyte Singh were not only different in degree, but rested on an entirely different basis. Bulwunt Singh, for ten years, was administrator of the Province only by the permission of the Vizier of Oudh. But for the last twenty years his tenure of the principality, if not entirely adverse, was certainly not permissive. It was of that mixed kind not perhaps recognized by jurists, but very common in every part of the world. It is on some such tenure that an unimproving Irish peasant who pays an insufficient rent maintains his possession. His landlord wishes to evict him, and would do so at all risks if he refused rent altogether, but so long as something is paid he hesitates for a moderate advantage to run the chance of being shot. The Vizier would gladly have expelled him from the Province, and would have willingly given five lacs of rupees for his head. If Bulwunt Singh had altogether refused to liquidate his annual revenues he would have put forth all his strength, and taken possession of the country by force of arms. But Bulwunt Singh was a good paymaster, and always ready to atone for his offences by large offerings. Furthermore, his power was very formidable; he could not have been dislodged from his forts among the Vindyans and Kymore Hills without an expensive, protracted, and doubtful war. Hence it was that the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, much as he hated Bulwunt Singh, never attempted to expel him from the province. During the last few years of Bulwunt Singh's life he was further strengthened by the friendship and support of the English, but even without this, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that, as long as he lived, the Nawabs of Oudh would ever have obtained possession of the Benares Province.

Cheyte Singh for three years Lord of Benares only through favour of the Nawab Vizier.

When Bulwunt Singh was dead everything was changed. There was a disputed succession. The Viceroy of Oudh could have secured the country for any one of the three claimants on any terms he chose, and if he had preferred it he could have taken possession of it himself as easily as his father had ejected Fuzl Ali from Ghazeepoor. The favour of the Nawab was obtained through the wisdom of Ousan Singh and the submissive humility of the Rajah. Cheyte Singh's tenure of the province from 1770 A. D. to 1773 A. D. was as purely permissive as that of any *amil* or farmer of the revenues in the country.

And afterwards only through interference of the Governor-General.

In 1773 A. D. the Vizier ceased to regard the Rajah with favour, and would most certainly have deprived him of his dominions if Warren Hastings had not interposed and procured for him the *sunnud* of 1773 A. D. Rajah Cheyte Singh was of illegitimate descent, at variance with his kindred, at enmity with his wisest councillors, and devoid of every one of the characteristics which rendered Bulwunt Singh so dangerous an enemy. For his deposition the expenditure of treasure or of blood would not have been required; the simple proclamation of his deposition would have deprived him of every adherent. From these considerations it follows that Cheyte Singh should have felt himself bound to the English Government in loyal allegiance, and to Warren Hastings himself by the still nearer ties of gratitude and affection.

In the hour of the humiliation of Warren Hastings, the Rajah forgot how much he owed him, and joined the faction of his enemies. At the time of the greatest difficulties and distress of the English Government he gave evidences of his disaffection, and refused the aid demanded from him.

Ingratitude of Cheyte Singh.

It is true that though no term was specified in the *pottah* of 1776, yet in the *sunnud* of 1773 A. D. the revenue was fixed for perpetuity. But under a Native State this condition would have been disregarded; a year after it had been declared, no State, however strict in the observance of contracts, would have considered this provision a bar to an extraordinary demánd at a time when its very existence was imperilled. A loyal vassal, possessing an immense store of treasure for which he had no use, would gladly have offered, unasked, a far larger sum than was demanded from Cheyte Singh.

Right of Government to the extraordinary subsidies.

When all the circumstances of the case are considered, the conclusion is inevitable that the imposition of a fine of 50 lacs so far from being an unjust and excessive punishment, was at the same time moderate as a chastisement and politic as a measure for depriving a badly disposed, haughty, and foolish man of a dangerous weapon for mischief.

Fine of 50 lacs not excessive as a punishment.

The real errors of the Governor-General in his treament of Cheyte Singh were, I think, as follows:—1. The sense of his own private wrong induced him to interpose on behalf of Ousan Singh, whom Cheyte Singh had treated with ingratitude, when that interference was justifiable neither by grounds of public policy nor authorized by the expressed or unexpressed contracts existing between him and the Rajah. 2. By his demeanour at Buxar and Benares in August, 1781, towards Cheyte Singh he gave him too much reason to believe that repentance was useless, that his offences were regarded as past forgiveness, and that his destruction, not his chastisement, was contemplated. 3. By attempting a forcible seizure of Cheyte Singh in his own house, and by subjecting him to personal indignity, he won for him the sympathy of every Hindoo throughout India, and induced the foes of his own household, his estranged kinsmen, to unite their cause, heart and soul, with that of the Rajah We cannot doubt that if, instead of the Fowkes, the Grahams, and the Markhams who were placed at Benares, the great-souled and great-minded Duncan had been the representative of the English Government, Cheyte Singh would have been saved from destruction, and been made an instrument for good as was his successor Maheep Narain. If Warren Hastings had condescended to use on the Rajah that irresistible power which lodged in his presence, his eye, and his voice, the Rajah would have been like wax in his hands; and failing in this, if he had, without offering the Rajah personal indignity, declared that he had forfeited his claim to the administration of the province, and that Muneear Singh or Maheep Narain was now Rajah in his place, the tragedies of Shewala Ghat, of Ramnuggur, and of Westminster Hall would have been averted, the disloyal vassal deposed, and a more worthy successor seated in his place without the loss of a single life.

The errors of the Governor-General.

Note A.—There seems reason to believe that Macaulay had some knowledge of the contents of the *Bulwuntnamah.* He mentions a Mahomedan chronicler who relates how Clavering, sick in mind and body, was compelled by the importunity of Warren Hastings to be a guest at his wedding feast, and how this exertion, too much for Clavering's broken frame, accelerated his death. Whether the author of the *Bulwuntnamah* is the chronicler alluded to I do not know, but the incident is described in the *Bulwuntnamah* just as it is given by Macaulay.

Note B.—A copy of the *Bulwuntnamah,* under the name of Tuhfah-i-Tazah, has since been discovered in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Blochmann in the Proceedings of July, 1870, while acknowledging the receipt from me of a copy of

an Oordoo Translation of the work, which I had had prepared for my own use, gave the following notice of the *Bulwuntnamah* :—

" The *Bulwuntnamah* by Khairuddin Muhammad of Iláhábád is a work of great value. It contains a history of the Názims and Rájahs of Benares, and is full of interesting details referring to the times and transactions of Warren Hastings. The author lived in the end of last century, and has written several other Historical works, as the *Jaunpúrnámah*, or Chronicle of the town of Jaunpúr ; the *Tazkiratul-'Ulama*,* or biographical notices of modern Persian writers, chiefly of Audh ; the *Kitáb-i-'A'lamshob*, or History from the time of Nádir Sháh to the death of Mirzá Najaf Khán ; the *'Ibratnámah*, a voluminous history of the reign of Sháh'A'lam (II.), with a minute account of the doings of the notorious Ghulám Qádir, ; the *Gwáliárnámah*, or History of Fort Gwaliár ; and several other works on law, rhetoric, and grammar.

" His last work appears to have been the abovementioned *Tazkiratul-'Ulamá*, which was written, like the *Bulwuntnamah*, at the suggestion of Abraham Welland, Judge of Jaunpúr, and dedicated to the Marquis of Wellesley. It contains additional matter for a History of Jaunpúr, and biographies of learned men, chiefly of such as lived at Jaunpúr. He often praises the officers of the East India Company, because 'they prefer a learned man of another religion to a fool of their own.' The books also contains a history of his life and a list of his works, from which it appears that the proper title of the *Bulwuntnamah* is *Tuhfah-i-Tazah*, a copy of which, I find, is in the Society's Library.

" Khairuddin was born December, 1751. The *Tazkiratul-'Ulamá*, the latest of those of his works which are known to me, was written in A. H. 1216, or A. D. 1801.

" His works deserve the attention of all who wish critically to study the times of the decline and fall of the Mughul empire and the early period of the E. I. Company."—[*From the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for July*, 1870, p. 218.]

There is another work called the *Bulwuntnamah* giving an account of the history of the first Rajahs of Benares. A copy of this history has been procured for me by my friend Chowdree Goordutt Singh, one of the chief officers of the Maharajah of Benares. The account given of the history of Bulwunt Singh in this work differs very materially from that given by Kheyr-ool-deen. For the following reasons, I consider the statements of Kheyr-ool-deen to be more reliable than those in the other *Bulwuntnamah* :—

(1.) Kheyr-ool-deen was a contemporary of Rajah Cheyte Singh, and an eye-witness of many of the events he described. The other *Bulwuntnamah* is a very modern work, and was written by one Soobhan Ali by order of Ishree Pershad Narain, the present Maharajah of Benares.

(2.) Though obviously in a great degree based upon and borrowed from the older work, yet it ignores its existence and professes to be the first history of the Benares Rajahs.

(3.) The work of Kheyr-ool-deen is impartial in its tone ; that of Soobhan Ali uniformly attempts to represent the character and achievements of Bulwunt Singh in the most favourable light.

(4). The *Bulwuntnamah* of Kheyr-ool-deen is lucid, copious, and describes the history of almost every one of the numerous persons mentioned in it, and assigns a date to every incident described ; that of Soobhan Ali is confused, brief, omits all mention of persons and events not immediately connected with the history of Bulwunt Singh, and seldom gives dates for the real or imaginary events described in it.

* Called in the Catalogue of Persian MSS. of the Society *Nadrat-ul' Ulamá*.—THE EDITOR.

(5.) The history of Kheyr-ool-deen is rarely, if ever, contradicted by authentic documents; that of Soobhan Ali is often opposed to documentary evidence of the greatest weight and authenticity. For example, according to Soobhan Ali, Mirzapore and Kuntit formed part of the Province of Benares; in the time of Roostum Ali, and during the Government of Roostum Ali, Bulwunt Singh had firmly established his authority there.

According to Kheyr-ool-deen, Mirzapore and Kuntit belonged to the Nizamut of Allahabad, during the Government of Roostum Ali, and they were first annexed to Benares by Rajah Bulwunt Singh in 1273 H. or 1759 A.D., on account of his having paid off arrears of revenue due by the Kuntit Rajah to the Nazim. The correctness of Kheyr-ool-deen's account is corroborated by a written statement given to Mr. Jonathan Duncan on the 9th of May, 1788 A.D., by Oomrao Singh, an old officer of the Benares Rajahs, except as to the date which, according to Oomrao Singh, was in 1161 F. or 1753 A. D.

(6). Many of the statements of Soobhan Ali, at variance with those of Kheyr-ool-deen, are in themselves very improbable. For example, he states that the Forts of Lutteefpoor and Putteotah, and the whole country of Khera Mugror, were taken by force of arms by Bulwunt Singh while Roostum Ali was still Governor of the province, and he gives both to Munsa Ram and to Bulwunt Singh the title of Rajah before they had supplanted Roostum Ali, and while they were still his dependants.

I may mention that Soobhan Ali professes to derive his information from his maternal grandfather, Goolam Hoosein, a person who is mentioned as the "Historian" by Mr. James Stuart, Judge of Circuit, in his Report on Police in Benares, dated 5th February, 1808. (See page 779, Vol. I., Fifth Report, Madras, 1866).

Note C.—There is some doubt as to the exact distribution of all the pergunnahs of the Ghazeepoor district during the administration of Rajah Bulwunt Singh. The statement given below may, however, I think be accepted as substantially correct.

Baboo Beyjnath Singh, Dewan of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, held the pergunnahs of Kurrendah, Chowsah, and Zumaneah. This Beyjnath Singh, a Miser Brahmin, born in the Mirzapore District, was the most trusted and one of the bravest of the dependants of the Rajah, and had the custody of all his treasures and fortresses. He was the builder of the Shewala Palace at Benares, now occupied by princes of the Delhi Royal family, in which Rajah Cheyte Singh was arrested and our troops massacred. Nundram, the Amil of Pergunnah Huvellee, Ghazeepoor, was a Mahajun of Putteotah, whom Bulwunt Singh employed to liquidate the land revenue owing by Bikramajeet, Rajah of Kuntit, to the Nazim of Allahabad. The Rajah of Kuntit was unable to repay the advance, and was on this pretext ejected from his estates by Rajah Bulwunt Singh. Lalla Nundkishore was Amil of Sydpoor, and probably of Buhuriabad and Khanpoor.

Bhaie Ram, Mahajun, had charge of Mahomdabad, and probably of Gurha and Dehma.

Lall Khan, an Affghan officer, was in charge of a pergunnah unnamed, and Moozufter Khan of Sekunderpoor. Baboo Doorbijey Singh, Bulwunt Singh's son-in-aw, father of Rajah Maheep Narain, held Mahaitch as a Jagheer.

Another, Doorbijey Singh, and his brother, Jugerdeo Singh, grandsons of Maya Ram, one of Munsa Ram's brothers, were Amils of Shadeabad, Zahoorabad, and probably of Puchotur.

Bullum Doss was Amil of Luknesur, and probably of Kopachit.

Meer Sherif Ali was the Amil of Khureed and Bulliah.

During the administration of Rajah Cheyte Singh, the distribution and revenues of the pergunnahs is shown in the following table :—

Name of Amil.	Pergunnahs.	Land Revenue.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Baboo Doorbijey Singh,	Mahaitch	60,000	The whole of this revenue was allowed as a Jagheer.
Meer Sherif Ali ...	Bulliah, Puchotur, Luknesur, Khureed, Sikunderpoor	5,27,000	
Baboo Munear Singh ...	Mahomdabad ... ... / Kureah Palee	1,15,000	Munear Singh was the nephew and adopted son of Rajah Lulwunt Singh.
Thakoriah Bukht Singh,	Zumaneah, Chowsah, Kurrendah, Gurha, Dehma	2,77,000	Thakooriah Bukht Singh was, I believe, a relative on his mother's side of Rajah Cheyte Singh. His head quarters were in the Fort of Seringah. Temples built by him are at Hurpoor, nine miles from Ghazeepoor, near Zumaneah.
Baboo Jugerdeo Singh,	Shadeabad ... ... / Zahoorabad	1,50,000	
Bukhshy Sudanund ...	Buhuriabad ...	15,000	
Baboo Pem Singh ...	Khanpoor	18,000	
Baboo Ousan Singh ...	Sydpoor Bhitree ...	70,000	Of this revenue, Rs. 50,000 was the Jagheer of Ousan Singh, and Rs. 4,000 was allowed him for charges of collection. The actual revenue paid was Rs. 16,000.
Aga Mehndi	Ghazeepoor city and Huvellee, and sayer of the District,	1,47,000	
Unknown	Talooka Boorgaon and Burragaon, (Query, in Sikunderpoor.)	10,000	
	Total ...	13,89,000	

Note D.—In a Register of "maûfee mamoolee," or customary remissions, prepared by the orders of Mr. Duncan in 1788 A.D., there is a curious entry illustrative of the nature of the dispute between Rajah Cheyte Singh and the other members of his family. In Pergunnah Zahoorabad of the Ghazeepoor District an annual allowance of Rs. 5,500 per annum was made to Baboo Jugerdeo Singh, the Amil, on account of his having eaten with the Rajah. This allowance was diminished by Rs. 500 in 1784 A. D., and abolished in 1786. A.D.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER I.

No. I.

SOORAHA LAKE IRRIGATION PROJECT.

No. 124.

FROM

W. OLDHAM, ESQUIRE,

Deputy Collector of Ghazeepoor,

To

G. B. PASLEY, ESQUIRE,

Collector of Ghazeepoor.

DATED GHAZEEPOOR, THE 23RD FEBRUARY, 1869.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to bring to your notice the remarkable natural facilities which exist for developing an extensive system of irrigation at a very small cost in the Bulliah Tehseel of this district.

2. I wish to premise that, in the present report, most of the areas, heights, estimates of expense, are only approximate; and that I should not venture to propose the commencement of any works without professional survey.

3. The Bulliah Tehseel consists of the three Pergunnahs of Khureed, Bulliah, and Doabah.

4. The Bulliah and Doabah Pergunnahs are entirely of recent river formation, except the western portion of the Bulliah Pergunnah, and are liable to be entirely submerged in very high floods (except artificially raised village sites).

5. The northern portion of Pergunnah Khureed, and all the pergunnahs east of Suhutwar or Muhutwar, is of river formation, and is liable to be submerged.

There is a part of the pergunnah west of Muhutwar, and thence lying between the Gogra River and the Sooraha Lake, which is well raised, contains kunkur, and is never submerged in the highest floods.

6. The course of the Ganges until some forty or fifty years ago was between the Pergunnahs of Khureed and Bulliah and Pergunnah Doabah.

This course is now a low-lying fertile strip of country, and is called the *Boorh Gung*, or old Ganges.

7. The Sooraha Lake is bounded on the north by the high-lying part of Khureed Pergunnah, and on the south by the low-lying Bulliah Pergunnah. According to the Revenue Survey map, the circuit of the lake is about 16 miles, and the area of the lake is 8,554 acres.

8. The formation of the lake is ascribed to Soorut, Rajah of the aboriginal Cheroos. There are no traces of artificial construction, and the great size of the lake is a proof that it was not excavated.

9. It appears to me probable that the lake once formed the northern curve of the Ganges, that the river, finding a direct course, deserted the old channel; those portions of the old channel adjacent to the new one in time silted up, leaving the lake as it now stands.

10. In the present year the general depth of the lake, except near the shore, is about seven feet.

11. The lake in former times was connected with the old Ganges by the Jumna Nuddee, which divides the Pergunnahs of Bulliah and Khureed. This nuddee met the old confluence of the Ghogra and the Ganges near Bhaka.

This nuddee has now silted up in the same way as the Boorh Gung, and it forms a low and very fertile slip of land, about a fourth of a mile wide and 16 miles long.

12. The Surjoo Nuddee is formed by the union of a branch of the Gogra with the Azimgurh Tonse; it joins the Ganges at Bulliah, and is a clear, strong-flowing stream even in the hot season.

13. The Kuttehur Nuddee connects the lake with the Surjoo about half a mile above Bulliah.

14. The water-supply in the Sooraha Lake is derived from two sources :—

I.—Drainage of the country west of the lake.

II.—Influx of the Ganges water in the rains up the Surjoo River and Kuttehur Nuddee.

15. The Kuttehur Nuddee winds, but its direct length is about 8 miles.

It forms a deep and narrow cut about 12 feet wide at the bottom, and seventy feet wide at the top. The bottom of the nuddee near Bulliah is 27 feet below the general level of the country, and near the lake about 12 to 16 feet below the general level of the adjacent country.

The nuddee is crossed at Hybutpoor, on the Ghazeepoor and Bulliah Road, by a one-arch bridge 22 feet wide and 28 feet high.

16. The surface of the country at Bulliah is about 34 feet above the present level of the Ganges, which is at, or very near, the minimum level. The surface of the lake is at present, I think, about 18 feet above the level of the Ganges.

17. When the Ganges rises in the rains, the Ganges water flows up the Kuttehur Nuddee into the lake, and returns again when the river falls.

Last year there was an influx only for about four days in August, and a reflux until September; but in ordinary years the influx continues for some weeks, and the reflux till January.

18. A large extent of land on the shores of the lake is in rice cultivation, and the rice in favourable years is a very strong and tall crop.

19. During the cold season, the water in the lake and in the Kuttehur Nuddee is used for irrigation.

Even in the present year irrigation is still going on from pools of water lying in the Kuttehur Nuddee. The water is lifted by bullocks, by pulleys, by *dhenklees* or levers, and also by men working baskets. The expense at present is very great: 20 men working baskets in five lifts can only water half a beegah in a day.

20. The rice cultivation in the lake is exposed to two great dangers.

1*st.*—A sudden influx of water in the beginning of the rains, and before the plants are strong, kills the rice plants.

2*nd.*—The fall in the river in September or October withdraws all the water from the rice, and the plants wither and die.

21. In order to secure every year a full rice crop, and to facilitate irrigation in the cold weather, a weir with sluice-gates is required in the Kuttehur Nuddee at or near Hybutpoor. By the construction of this work, the Kuttehur Nuddee will be converted into a deep canal, full nearly to the level of the adjacent country.

22. After the construction of the weir, the influx of the Ganges might, whenever it is necessary, be retarded in July and August, and a sufficient amount of water retained in the lake to secure the rice from being dried up in October, and to supply water for irrigation in the cold season.

23. It would not be possible nor desirable to retain the entire amount of water which in an unusually high rains flows into the lake, but I think that the water in the lake might be raised to about eight feet above its present level, without injury to any land, and with great benefit to the country.

24. In order to make the greatest possible use of the increased water-supply, it would be necessary to make small irrigation canals along the course of the Jumna Nuddee and the Boorh Gung to the Ganges and the Gogra, and along the course of the two principal nuddees flowing into the lake on the west.

25. By raising the water in the lake eight feet above its present level the water would be either quite, or nearly, level with the rich soil in the Boorh Gung, the Jumna, and the western nuddees, and an immense extent of land would be brought under irrigation.

26. The rise in the height of the water in the lake would also to the same extent cause a rise in the water in all the wells in the country adjacent to the lake, the Kuttehur Nuddee, and the proposed canals.

27. I have mentioned the plan given above to hundreds of the zemindars and cultivators in the neighbourhood of the lake, and they have usually expressed a strong wish that it might be executed, and stated that they would gladly pay for the works.

28. The only difficulty urged by the zemindars owning land on the shores of the lake is one depending on the peculiar conditions of ownership, and is easily overcome. The deep water of the lake and all natural products, such as fish, wild fowl, and reeds, belong to the zemindars of a single village, Busuntpoor. The cultivated land on the shores of the lake appertains to the village to which it adjoins.

The zemindars of other villages fear that if the level of the lake is raised their cultivated area may be diminished, and the extent of the lake belonging to Busuntpoor increased.

Nothing of the kind, under proper arrangement, need occur, as the sluice-gates of the weir can be opened in the hot weather, and the lake lowered to the present level or even below its present level. The extent of the cultivation on the shores of the lake will not be diminished. The only difference will be that a good rice crop and a good rubbee crop will be secured, instead of an uncertain rice crop and a mediocre rubbee crop.

29. I would also remark that at present, when the Ganges rises and falls, more than once between the first and succeeding rises there is a reflux from the lake which diminishes the maximum height attained. If a weir with sluices be constructed the gates can be opened during each flush in the river, and shut during the temporary falls of the Ganges, so that the full maximum height is attained on the lake.

30. Weirs with sluice-gates of the kind proposed are common in drainage works on the sea-coast. The gates are generally made on hinges self-acting, to open and shut with each rise and fall in the tide. In a work like the present, when it will probably be only necessary to open or to close the gates once or twice in the year, a door working up and down in a valve would be simpler and cheaper.

31. It will perhaps be possible to adopt the present Hybutpoor Bridge over the Kuttehur Nuddee to the proposed works. I would not, however, recommend that this should be done.

32. The work would be more likely to stand if the water had free course to rise above the top of the weir freely when there is an unusually high flood.

33. The size of the weir will probably be about 100 feet long. Height above bottom of nuddee (which is now about five feet above the Ganges), will be about 22 feet.

There ought to be, I think, in the weir, at the level of the present height of lake, or a little lower, three sluice-gates having each a superficial area of not less than 24 feet, so as to give a total superficial area to the sluice-gates of about 72 feet.

34. If the areas of the gates be made too small, there is a danger that, the rise in the river lasting only a short time, the full benefit of the flood may not be obtained.

35. The approximate cost of the proposed works I estimate as follows :—

Weir with three sluice-gates ...	...	Rs. 4,000
Forty miles of canals at Rs. 150 per mile ...	...	„ 6,000
(Area of Section 23 feet.)		
	Total,	Rs. 10,000

36. The extent of country in the highest degree benefitted by the proposed works will be approximately as follows :—

Eight square miles of country on the banks of the Kuttehur Nuddee.

Eight square miles on the shores of the lake.

Sixteen square miles on the banks of the canals.

Total, thirty-two square miles, or about twenty thousand acres. On a moderate calculation, a cess of 1 anna per acre per annum would, on this amount, yield about 12 per cent. on the outlay. A far larger extent than this will be indirectly benefitted by the level in the water of all wells being raised. It is probable that the increase in the value of the crops of a single year will vastly exceed the entire expense of the undertaking.

37. I forward a sketch map shewing the position of the proposed works.

I have, &c.,

W. OLDHAM,

Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

NOTE.—In the present year, 1870, a party of Government Engineers of the Irrigation Department has been employed during the latter part of the rainy season in examining this project and taking an accurate survey of the country adjacent to the lake

W Handock, Esq., Executive Engineer in charge of the party, has expressed an opinion favourable to the project, but he anticipates that the cost of the necessary works will be much greater than I had mentioned in my rough sketch.—W. OLDHAM.

No. II.

REH AND OOSUR.

Questions on Reh and Oosur, as noticed in Board's Circular No. Z., dated 28th May, 1869.

In what description of land does reh appear in your district? Is it bangur (high land), or in turai or kuchoha (low land)? In doomut (loamy), mutyar (clayey), or bhoor (sandy soil)? In level plains, or land cut up by ravines? In lands affected by a canal, or not? Do you recognize any general physical law that governs the character of the land in which reh appears, or not?

Do you consider the appearance or efflorescence of reh on the surface to be an essential proof of the unculturableness of the land, or is there any land which is unculturable through its impregnation with saline matters, but in which reh does not effloresce? For instance, in the great oosur plains of the Doab, grass hardly grows at all, and the soil is generally considered unculturable, but the reh is only found on the surface here and there; how do you account for this?

3. Where the khusrah classifies soil as either "unculturable oosur" or as "old culturable fallow," do you ever examine into the cause of this distinction? If so, by what test or definition do you distinguish between these classes?

4. In the villages which lie in the great oosur plains, you habitually see cultivated fields scattered among the unculturable land. In these, when the crops are on the ground, you generally notice patches of unfertile land, 2, or 4, or 10 feet in diameter, which look like bald spots in the field, and are sometimes covered with reh. Is this baldness confined to these spots, and does it always appear in the same place, or does it burst up in different spots in different years, like blotches in an unhealthy skin?

5. Is any authentic notice known to you, or recorded by the natives, of land impregnated with saline matters being reclaimed for cultivation? If not, how do you account for the decrease in the unculturable area since last settlement as shown by comparison of the classified areas of the respective surveys? And how do you account for the small patches of cultivation in the middle of oosur; were they reclaimed, or were they only good land overlooked and erroneously confounded with bad?

6. Does the efflorescence of reh go on all through the year? If you scrape it off a certain area, say in November, how long will it take to accumulate there again? Would the period be the same if you experimented in March?

7. Is reh worst after heavy rains? And does it do most injury to khurreef or to rubbee crops?

8. Do you believe in the notion that reh or oosur is always underlain by kunkur? Have you any facts on this point? Do natives consider it to have any effect on the water of wells, either for irrigation or drinking purposes? Have you any idea to what depth the impregnation of the soil extends?

9. Is any opinion current as to whether reh has increased or decreased of late years (independent of tracts affected by the canal)? Do you know of any land formerly free from it and now affected, or *vice versâ*?

No. 251.

From

W. OLDHAM, Esquire,
Offg. Collector of Ghazeepoor,

To

W. A. FORBES, Esquire, C.B.,
Offg. Commissioner, 5th Division, Benares.

Dated Ghazeepoor, the 20th April, 1870.

Sir,

With reference to Circular Z., of 28th May, 1869, of the Sudder Board of Revenue, I have the honor to submit the following replies to questions:—

2. I was absent from the district during the period immediately before the cold weather, and during the cold weather I was principally employed in those parts of the district where reh is not found, so that any statements made and opinions expressed are rather the result of previous observation than of special enquiry

3. As the subject is to some extent discussed in the first chapter of the District Statistical Memoir, I have written for a proof of 1st chapter to the Government Press, and will forward it to you on receipt.

Replies on Reh and Oosur.

1. In this district reh only occurs in the old formation, upland (bangur); never in the turai or lowland formed in the bed of the Ganges or other rivers. It occurs more commonly in level plains than in lands cut up by ravines. I think it is only found where the surface is sufficiently level for the accumulation of water on the surface.

2. I believe there is no land unculturable through the impregnation of saline matters in which reh does not appear in this district. On the other hand, nothing is more common than to see fields bearing a good crop, but with patches unproductive on account of the presence of reh.

3. In many cases in which I have met in khusrahs entries of old culturable fallow the land has been capable of cultivation and not unculturable; but I am inclined to think that a good deal of land entered as "unculturable," "*gair momkin*," is now cultivated.

4. I believe the baldness or blotches break, and in different places in different years, because the bald patches have commonly been ploughed, and if the cultivators knew before which patches would be under reh they would not waste time in ploughing them up.

5. I think that the amount of oosur is from year to year a variable quantity, and that the general tendency is in this district towards its diminution.

6. The efflorescence of reh takes place during the whole cold season, and it is reported by the Tehseeldars that it continues through the hot season. I have no personal knowledge of this.

7. Reh is, I think, worst after heavy rains in some places, and most injurious after light rains in other places, and does more harm to the rubbee than to the khurreef crop.

8. I believe that reh and oosur is invariably underlain by kunkur, but frequently at a considerable depth and in small quantities. It is, as before stated, only found in the old formation of the district in which kunkur is always found, and not in the new formations in which kunkur is never found. The water in wells in tracts of country which contains reh is impregnated with saline matter. This may be seen from the sparkling saline deposits on the irrigation channels from wells. I believe that a chief cause of the formation of reh is the accumulation of water on the surface during the rainy season, and subsequent removal by evaporation. All saline particles in the soil are first dissolved, and afterwards deposited in the soil near the surface. The most feasible plain for curing reh would be to allow water to accumulate on the surface, and afterwards to draw it off. If this were done for a few years it is likely a large amount of the salt would be washed out of the soil.

The connection between kunkur in the sub-stratum and oosur at the surface may be accounted for by the following theory.

Ordinary soils contain a number of organic acids, such as ulmic, humic acid, which enter into combination with sodium, potassium, and other metallic elements commonly found in soils, and in combination with them supply food to vegetation. Wherever

kur kur is present in the substratum there is always found in the water a large amount of the soluble bicarbonate of lime in solution. When this bicarbonate of lime in solution is brought into contact by capillary attraction with the salts formed by the organic acids, the surplus carbonic acid enters into combination with the base, and the result is that kunkur or the insoluble carbonate of lime and carbonate of potash or soda are formed. The chemical change would be represented as by the following formula:—

$$Cao, 2CO2 + Na'O, C2HO = Cao, CO2 + NaoCO2 + C2HO$$

The carbonate of soda in an impure form is manufactured in large quantities from reh and sent to Calcutta; it is called sujjee. During the administration of the Rajahs of Benares, the preparation of this sujjee was one of the numerous and vexatious *mehals* or monopolies, and it was abolished by Mr. J. Duncan when Resident of Benares in 1790 or 1791.

A map is forwarded herewith which will illustrate the subject. Reh is only found in those parts of the district left uncoloured, not in that part of the district coloured blue in the map.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) W. OLDHAM,

Offg. Collector.

No. III.

SALT DEPOSITS IN THE BED OF THE GANGES.

No. 442.

FROM

W. OLDHAM, ESQUIRE, LL.D.,

Officiating Collector of Ghazeepoor,

To

T. OLDHAM, ESQUIRE,

Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

DATED GHAZEEPOOR, THE 17TH JUNE, 1870.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward by Banghy packet two specimens of salt earth found in the bed of the Ganges, and four of salt manufactured from the saline earth.

2. The portion of the river's bank where the salt earth is found in the villages of Medneepoor, Tajpoor, and Kaloopoor is almost immediately opposite to the city of Ghazeepoor, and has, we know, since 1840-41 occasionally produced this saline earth in large quantities. The country adjacent for a distance of five or six miles or more from the river's bank is recently-formed alluvial deposit, most of it liable to submersion on high floods, and containing no kunkur, and, as far as I know, no saline deposits.

3. Under these circumstances, the formation of chloride of sodium in the bed of the Ganges seems to me interesting and worth bringing to your notice.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) W. OLDHAM,

Offg. Collector.

No. 772.

FROM

T. OLDHAM, ESQUIRE,

Superintendent, Geological Survey of India,

To

W. OLDHAM, ESQUIRE,

Collector of Ghazeepoor.

DATED CALCUTTA, THE 30TH JUNE, 1870.

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 442, dated 17th instant, and subsequently of the specimens referred to therein.

2. The salt forwarded has been tested, and proves to be, for the most part, ordinary chloride of sodium (common salt) with traces of some sulphates mixed.

3. The finding of salt in the sands of a large river like the Ganges, in places which, from your description, appear to be covered annually when the river rises, is peculiarly interesting, and the fact that you mention of the salt having been "occasionally" found in large quantities yearly since 1840-41 seems difficult to reconcile with any other supposition than that a salt spring must occur in the locality, the brine from which coming to the surface becomes evaporated and leaves the salt of the recent deposits where it occurs. It will be interesting to trace out the exact limits within which this salt earth has been found, and to see whether the result will agree with the peculiar localization of the salt; which would seem probable if its source be, as supposed, a spring or several springs in close proximity.

4. I will be glad to have any further information you may obtain regarding this curious fact.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) T. OLDHAM,

Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

No. IV.

Table of Heights ascertained by Spirit-Levelling by C. Lane, Esq., Great Trigonometrical Survey, in 1870.

EXTRACT.

Description of Points.	Preliminary heights above mean sea-level.
	Feet.
Bustee Civil Station.—Collector and Magistrate's Kutcherry, east face. Top of 3rd or upper step, below level of verandah floor, under central pillar. (G T S / B M) cut to indicate the point ...	291·20
Goruckpore Civil Station.—Church. Top of 2nd step (from the ground level) of paved flight of steps, below north side pillar of west doorway of body of Church, under Belfry Portico. (G T S / B M) engraved to indicate the point ...	254·70
Siwala or temple.—Gurdial's. On left bank of Sarju or Gogra River at Barhalgunj. Top of 3rd step above ground of the flight of steps leading to the river. Height, 3 feet, 9 inches above roadway ...	231·05
Azimgurh Civil Station.—Collector's Kutcherry. Middle of floor of north verandah ...	253·76
Milestone, 21, or 10½ koss from Ghazeepoor, on south-west edge of road, top of milestone. Height, 2 feet, 7 inches above slope of roadside ...	241·57
Small road bridge (with one arch). In Mouzah Bharsar.—Top of east-north-east parapet. Height 3 feet above roadway. (G T S / B M) has been cut to indicate the point ...	230·90
Dokatthia-ka-Púl.—Large bridge with three arches across Beso Nadi in Mouzahs Taranpur, Jumna Dewa. Top of middle of east-north-east parapet. Height 3 feet, 9 inches above roadway. The parapets of this bridge are surmounted with stone slabs ...	231·25
Ghazeepore Mission Church.—South-west end of verandah floor, south of the Church Tower ...	223·79
Ghazeepore Collector's Kutcherry.—Paved floor of east verandah between the 6th and 7th doorways from the north. (G T S / B M) engraved to indicate the point ...	223·44
Ghazeepore, pucka house.—On left bank of the Ganges; occupied by the Collector. Top of west end of 3rd paved step of north flight of steps under portico. This house is in Mouzahs Naipura and Sikandarpur. (G T S / B M) engraved to indicate the point ...	218·23
Ghazeepore City.—Chithnath-ka-Ghât. Paved flight of steps leading from Tulsiram's Siwala to the river. Top of 2nd step below west side of 3rd landing from top. (G T S / B M) has been cut to indicate the point ...	186·49

Description of Points.	Preliminary heights above mean sea-level.
	Feet.
Ghazeepore City.—Chitnath-ka-Ghât. Paved flight of steps leading from Tulsiram's Siwala (above described) to the river. Top of 2nd step below 6th landing from top, 5 inches above level of water in the river on 19th April, 1870 ...	177·84
Large stone well.—Choonee Lall's. This well is about 21·9 chains nearly west-south-west from the middle of Nandgunj Bazaar, and has a large stone side room and a reservoir. Top of south end of 4th or middle paved step. Height, 3 feet, 3 inches above ground. (G T S / B M) has been engraved to indicate the point ...	238·50
Large pucka Samad.—Moni Baba's. On left bank of the Ganges, in Mouzah Súnpúr. Top of south-south-west end of 3rd step of west-north-west flight of paved steps of the building. Height of the 3rd step, 1½ feet above pucka platform adjoining the paved steps leading to the river ...	231·93
Large tank near Zumaneah.—Bhairo Sha's. About ¼ mile east of the town of Zamaneah or Zamooneeah. Top of 3rd step from the ground of large paved flight of steps on west side of the tank. (G T S / B M) has been cut to indicate the point ...	228·22
Pucka well.—Teli Thakoor's. In Mouzah Kodai. Top of square flagged curb on east side. Height, 2 feet, 4 inches above ground ...	233·29
Small road bridge (with two arches).—This is the northern of two bridges in Mouzah Bàrhàni. Top of north end cap of west parapet. Height, 2 feet, 7 inches above roadway ...	240·41
Dildarnuggur, G. T. S. B. M.—Bench mark embedded 12 paces from nort-east corner of East Indian Railway Station House, opposite east side entrance to platform ...	225·00

(True Extract,)

BENARES:
Dated the 5th September, 1870.

C. LANE,
Depy. Supdt., G. T. S.,
In charge No. 3 Ex. Party.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III.

No. I.

Historical Pedigree of the Hyobuns Rajahs of Huldee.

Number.	2. Name of Rajah.	3. Sumbut year of birth.	4. Sumbut year of installation as Rajah.	5. Duration of reign.	6. Sumbut year of death.	7. Place of residence.	8. Name of Ranee, and her parents and caste.	9. Name of Temples, Forts, Tanks, &c., which the Rajah built.	10. Chief enemies of Rajah.	11. Name of Dewan.	12. Sons of Rajah, their portions and estates.	13. Remarks.
1	Chunder Jote Deo Jee, Bahadoor,	...	906	41 years.	947	Manjee, Zillah Sarun.	...	Fort and well at Manjee.	Cheroo ...	Lalpun Ojha ...	Baboo Padoom Deo Jee, Bahadoor.	Chunder Gote Deo, son of the Rajah of Rai Ruthunpoor, settled at Manjee, and conquered the Cheroos, who had been lords of the country.
2	Padoom Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	947	47 „	993	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	Baboo Bhola Deo Jee.	
3	Bhola Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	993	48 „	1040	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4	Bhekhum Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1040	22 „	1062	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5	Nauth Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1062	37 „	1097	Mouzah Masar, Perguhnnah Behea and Behea Khas, Zillah Shahabad.	...	Fort and pond and wells in Mouzah Masar, and in Behea pond and Fort.	In Pergunnah Behea, Cheroo, and in Pergunnah Bulliah, Aheer.	...	...	Maharajah Nauth Deo Jee, Bahadoor, reigned in Manjee; then he made Shere Khan as a Naib in Manjee, District Sarun, and he himself reigned in Pergunnah Behea, Zillah Shahabad, and Bulliah, Zillah Ghazeepoor, up to District Benares. At that period Cheroos and Aheers were the predominant landowning tribes.

No. I.

Historical Pedigree of the Hyobuns Rajahs of Huldee.—(Continued.)

1	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
Number.	Name of Rajah.	Sumbut year of birth.	Sumbut year of installation as Rajah.	Duration of reign.	Sumbut year of death.	Place of residence.	Name of Ranee, and her parents and caste.	Name of Temples, Forts, Tanks, &c., which the Rajah built.	Chief enemies of Rajah.	Name of Dewan.	Sons of Rajah, their portions and estates.	Remarks.
6	Chunder Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1098	46 years.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
7	Bas Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1156	24 „	1171	...	...	...	...	...	...	
8	Ram Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1179	26 „	1204	Bhulsund, Pergunnah Bulliah and Behea.	...	Fort and well made in Bhulsund, Pergunnah Bulliah.	Fought with Aheers.	...	...	
	Hemkar Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1204	49 „	1253	...	...	...	...	...	...	
10	Bhekhum Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1253	31 „	1284	...	...	...	...		...	
11	Beer Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1285	56 „	1340	...	...	...	...	...	...	Maharajah Beer Deo Jee, Bahadoor, by indirect descent.
12	Madun Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1349	23 „	1371	...	...	...	...	...	...	Baboo Madun Singh became Rajah, and Baboo Bhej Singh obtained Koochwa and Mouzah Amghaut and Sahrus Palee.
13	Mal Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1371	32 „	1402	Mouzah Maldapoor, Pergunnah Bullia and Behea.	...	Fort and tank in the name of Ranee.	...	...	...	

14	Roop Narain Deo Jee, Bahadoor,	...	1402	43	„	1444	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	Baboo Sungram Deo Jee, Bahadoor, became Rajah, and Luchmee Narain Singh obtained Mouzah Baboo Beyl.	
15	Sungram Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1444	38	„	1481	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	...	
16	Ruttun Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1481	44	„	1524	Ditto ...	...	...	...	..	...	
17	Bhoput Shahee Deo Jee, Bahadoor.	...	1524	61	„	1630	...	...	Fort, well and garden.	Aheers ...	...	Baboo Jugutt Deo became Rajah, Baboo Dhurnee Singh obtained Dhurneepore, Baboo Sree Narain Singh, Talooka Kupooree, Bhaloohee and Narainpoor.	Mahenee Chowbayn, Brahminee woman, committed suicide with a view of injuring the Rajah Bhoput Deo. After the death of Bhoput Deo, his son, Jugutt Deo, from fear of the curse of Mahenee, left Behea and settled at Gaighaut, in the Bulliah Pergunnah.
18	Juggut Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1584	47	„	1630	Gaighaut, Pergunnah Bulliah	...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	...	Baboo Mahashah became Rajah; Baboo Gunga Singh and Baboo Bhao Singh died without issue; Doorjun Singh obtained Junaree, Baboo Indur Singh, Talooka Akbarh, Baboo Chundur Singh, Talooka Jumooah, Baboo Sheo Singh, Talooka Tukur Sund, Baboo Man Dhata Singh and Rooder Singh, Pokhra.	Royal grants of Tukur Sund, Pergunnah Bulliah, in favor of Baboo Sheo Singh, son of Jugutt Singh, are still in existence.

No. I.

Historical Pedigree of the Hyobuns Rajahs of Huldee.—(Continued.)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
Number.	Name of Rajah.	Sumbut year of birth.	Sumbut year of installation as Rajah.	Duration of reign.	Sumbut year of death.	Place of residence.	Name of Rance, and her parents and caste.	Name of Temples, Forts, Tanks, &c., which the Rajah built.	Chief enemies of Rajah.	Name of Dewan.	Sons of Rajah, their portions and estates.	Remarks.
19	Deo Bahadoor	...	1630	27 years.	1656	Ghaighaut, Pergunnah Bulliah.	...	...	...	...	Baboo Gumbheer Singh became Rajah, Tardar Singh obtained Talooka Mujboora, Khowshal Singh, Talooka Bigahee.	
20	Gumbheer Deo, Bahadoor ...	...	1656	47 „	1702	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	Dheer Singh became Rajah, Bal Beer Singh obtained Talooka Dighar, Kishoon Singh, Talooka Soupoora, Alekh Singh, Talooka Ripurah.	
21	Dheer Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1702	42 „	1744	Huldee, Pergunnah Bulliah.	...	Fort and well in Pergunnah Bulliah; Fort at Joosee, in Allahabad Province. Fort of Purmait, Pergunnah Ka-	...	...	Dhoondh Singh became Rajah, Runmust Singh obtained Talooka Doorjunpoor, Ruhooa, Poorans, and Imrit Palee,	Chief *Tilluckdaree* Rajah between Allahabad and Sarun.

									rendah, still exists.			Ekwarce Kote, Sumbhul Singh, Zeera Bustee, Bishoon Singh, Talooka Gopalpoor, and Kesree Singh, Talooka Dobhund, Bal Bahadoor Singh, Talooka Sonwanee.	
22	Dhoond Deo, Bahadoor ...	...	1744	26 „	1770	Ditto ...	...	Fort in Bulliah.	...	...	Baboo Ameer Singh.		
23	Ameer Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1770	41 „	1818	Ditto ...	...	In village Kurnain, Gurh, and in Waina Khas, Fort, Gurh, and Pond, Gurhs and Ponds in Mouzah Burwadeeah, Pergunnah Dehma, ditto ditto in Mahend, Pergunnah Mahomedabad, ditto ditto in Karon, Pergunnah Gurha.	...	Sunt Bhia, Manager (Karperdaz) Doodhoo Poet Kubé.	Baboo Bhoobul Singh became Rajah; Tirloke Singh obtained Bulliah Khas, Mahabul Singh, Tirlokegunge, Goor Pershad Singh, Semeria, Buljore Singh, Inderpoor and Cherooia.		
24	Bhooabul Deo Jee, Bahadoor ...	...	1818	38 „	1856	Huldee Khas...	Ranee Sobuns Koor, daughter of Baboo Jeet Singh, Narownee tribe, Bansdeeh.	...	...	Bheekeo Rai, Manager (Karperdaz) Randhun, Poet, Kubé.	Eshuree Buksh Singh, Rajah, Gultansee, Dulgunjun Singh, Rajah, Gultansee, Baboo Ahlad Singh, Mendhee, Bishooneepoor, Dharwara, Soobnauth Singh, Mouzah Neelkuntpoor.		

No. I.

Historical Pedigree of the Hyobuns Rajahs of Huldee.—(Concluded).

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
Number.	Name of Rajah.	Sumbut year of birth.	Sumbut year of installation as Rajah.	Duration of reign.	Sumbut year of death.	Place of residence.	Name of Ranee, and her parents and caste.	Name of Temples, Forts, Tanks, &c., which the Rajah built.	Chief enemies of Rajah.	Name of Dowan.	Sons of Rajah, their portions and estates.	Remarks.
25	Eeshuree Bux Deo Jee, Bahadoor	...	1856	4 years.	1860	Huldee Khas...	Ranee Sheoraj Koour, daughter of Baboo Bishoonauth Singh, Nokha, Zillah Shahabad.	...	...	Jehan Singh, Khuttree, Onain Kubé, Poet.	No son.	
26	Dulgunjun Deo Jee, Bahadoor...	...	1862	21 „	1883	Ditto ...	Ranee Goolab Koor, daughter of Bishoonauth Singh, caste Ojain, Nokha, Zillah Shahabad.	...	...	Bhicha Bhia and Bhairo Singh, Karperdaz, and Tilluck Muhta.	Baboo Hurukhnauth Singh, son of Ahlad Singh, brother of Ishree Bux Deo and Dulgunjun Deo, became Rajah.	
27	Hurruck Nath Deo Jee, Bahadoor	1845	1883	10 „	1893	Ditto ...	Ranee Sone Koour, daughter of Bhora Singh, caste Muhrond, Rajapoor Kootuhee.	...	...	Bishoondial Singh, Karperdaz, Chutterdharee, Poet, Kubé.	Lal Nursingh, Narain Singh (without son); Lal Surub Narain Singh.	
28	Nursingh Narain Deo Jee, Bahadoor.	1874	1893	10 „	1903	Ditto ...	Ranee Mohesh Koour, daughter	...	...	...	No son.	

							of Maharajah Seetul Pershad Chund, caste Kousik, Gola, Gopalpoor, Zillah Goruckpore.					
29	Surub Narain Deo Jee, Bahadoor	1878	1903	14 „	1917	Ditto ...	Ranee Pirj Raj Koour, daughter of Baboo Oodit Narain Singh, caste Narounee, Mouzah Bansdeeh, Pergunnah Khureed. Ranee Maha Luchmee Koour, daughter of Baboo Nursingh Singh, caste Neikomb, village Reotee, Pergunnah Khureed, whose son Lal Thakoor Pershad Narain Singh is still there (Huldee).	...	...	and Dabee Surun Singh.	Lall Hurhur Pershad Narain Singh died, Lall Luchmuee Pershad Narain Singh died, Lall Takoor Pershad Narain Singh.	
30	Thakoor Pershad Narain Deo Jee, Bahadoor.	1916	1923	...	...	...	Ditto ...	...	...	Dabee Surun Singh, Karperdaz.	...	On the 11th February, 1867, there was a meeting at Agra, and, according to the Order of the Government Officers, Thakoor Pershaud attended, and obtained the title of Rajah.

No. II.

OOJAIN PONWAR.

Pedigree of the Rajahs of Doomraon, Zillah Shahabad.

No.	Name of Rajah.	Sons of Rajah.	Remarks.
1	Bikruma Dutt ...	Mahesh Dutt. Assa Dutt.	
2	Mahesh Dutt... ...	Kashee Dutt.	
3	Kashee Dutt... ...	Eshuree Dutt.	
4	Eshuree Dutt ...	Someshur Dutt. Homeshur Dutt.	
5	Someshur Dutt ...	Some Dutt.	
6	Some Dutt	Thakoor Dutt.	
7	Thakoor Dutt ...	Sidhwal Singh. Mounj Singh.	
8	Sidhwal Singh ...	Bhoj Singh.	Maharajah Sidhwal Singh made over his Raj at the time of his death to his younger brother, Manouj Singh; as his son Bhoj Singh was a minor, Bhoj Singh became Rajah when he grew up.
9	Bhoj Singh ...	Suhuj Singh. Sahai Singh Sarungdhur Singh.	
10	Sahuj Singh ...	Ootum Singh. Hurdeo Singh.	
11	Ootum Singh ...	Himmutt Sahí.	
12	Himmutt Sahí ...	Soomeyr Sahí.	
13	Soomeyr Sahí ...	Koobeyr Dutt Sahí. Nursingh Dutt. Bishoon Dutt.	
14	Kobeyr Dutt Sahí ...	Purbhoo Dutt. Soorutt Dutt.	
15	Purbhoo Dutt ...	Oodlat Dutt Singh. Jugutt Deo Singh.	
16	Oodai Dutt Singh ...	Randhawal Singh.	
17	Jugutt Deo Singh ...	Bishoon Deo Singh. Vishoon Deo Singh.	
18	Bishoon Deo Singh ...	Hurdeo Singh. Surdeo Singh.	
19	Hurdeo Singh ...	Hurdhur Sahí. Bhugutt Sahí.	
20	Hurdhur Sahí ...	Murdun Sahí	
21	Murdun Sahí ...	Dewan Kishore Sahí. Dummer Sahí.	
22	Dewan Kishore Sahí ...	Hurhur Sahí Gumbheer Sahí.	
23	Hurhur Sahí	Domur Sahí.	
24	Domur Sahí ...	Sumiruth Sahí. Pudum Sahí.	
25	Sumrutt Sahí ...	Neerunjun Sahí. Bhuruth Sahí.	
26	Neerunjun Sahí ...	Lall Deo Singh. Hurdeo Singh	
27	Lal Deo Singh ...	Oodai Kurn Sahí. Dabee Dutt Singh.	
28	Oodal Kurn Sahí ...	Ladoo Singh.	
29	Ladoo Singh	Futteh Sahí.	
30	Futteh Sahí ...	Kullian Sahí. Soogundh Sahí.	
31	Kullian Sahí ...	Sam Sahí. Ootum Sahí.	
32	Sam Sahí	Umer Sahi.	
33	Umer Sahi ...	Beej Sahí. Jeet Sahí.	
34	Beej Sahí ...	Sheodutt Sahí. Hurnauth Sahí.	
35	Sheodutt Sahi ...	Purtab Sahí. Humeed Sahí	
36	Partab Sahí ...	Bukhtawar Sahí. Birj Sahí.	
37	Bukhtawur Sahí ...	Benee Sahí. Chundwar Sahí.	
38	Benee Sahí ...	Dheeruj Sahí. Madho Sahí	
39	Dheeruj Sahí ...	Sree Jodh Sahí. Nauth Sahí.	
40	Sree Jodh Sahí ...	Bhurutt Sahí. Kosul Sahí.	
41	Bhurutt Sahí ...	Jai Purgass Sahí. Bunij Sahí. Futteh Sahí.	
42	Jai Purgass Sahí ...	Balum Sahí. Salum Sahí.	
43	Balum Sahí ...	Joojhar Sahí. Seetul Sahí. Soome Sahí.	

No. II.

Pedigree of the Rajahs of Doomraon, Zillah Sahahbad.—(Continued.)

No.	Name of Rajah.	Sons of Rajah.	Remarks.
44	Joojhar Sahí ...	Saleem Sahí. Hurdial Sahí	
45	Saleem Sahí ...	Manohur Sahí. Jaisree Sahí.	
46	Manohur Sahí ...	Hurdeo Sahí. Nukia Singh. Budul Singh.	
47	Hurdeo Singh ...	Kandhia Sahí. Hole Sahí.	
48	Kandhia Sahí ...	Pursun Sahí. Hurree Sahí.	
49	Pursun Sahí ...	Jai Krishen Deo. Sree Krishen Deo.	
50	Jai Krishen Deo ...	Essuree Purgass Deo. Shunker Deo.	
51	Essuree Purgass Deo...	Koom Surun Sahí. Sheo Doss Sahí.	
52	Koour Surun Sahí ...	Deo Surkun Sahí.	
53	Deo Surkun Sahí ...	Jugdees Sahí. Chundun Sahí.	
54	Jugdees Sahí ...	Phoolroo Sahí. Some Sah í.	
55	Phoolroo Sahí ...	Hur Buldeo Sahí. Mohkum Deo.	
56	Hur Buldeo Sahí ...	Madho Sahí. Khoodoom Sahí.	
57	Madho Sahí	Seetul Sahí.	
58	Seetul Sahí	Moheepaul Sahí.	
59	Moheepaul Sahí ...	Mahesh Sahí.	
60	Mahesh Sahí ...	Beej Mull Sahí. Moujee Sahí,	
61	Beej Mull Sahí ...	Jodh Sahí. Kashee Sahí.	
62	Jodh Sahí ...	Nounidh Sahí. Purag Sahí.	
63	Nounidh Sahí ...	Gya Sahí. Oojit Deo Sahí.	
64	Gya Sahí ...	Jaisree Sahí. Benee Ram Sahí.	
65	Jaisree Sahí ...	Luchmun Sahí. Bunij Sahí.	
66	Luchmun Sahí ...	Gunnesh Sahí. Huree Krishen Sahí.	
67	Gunesh Sahí ...	Samee Sahí Ruttun Sahí.	
68	Samee Sahí	Umbikar Singh.	Maharajah Samee Sahí left Oojain and went to Gyah for the purpose of performing his father's Pinda ceremony. When he returned from there, he arrived at Bhojpore, and made that place his capital.
69	Umbikar Singh ...	Doolah Sahí. Essuree Singh. Buriar Singh.	
70	Doolah Singh ...	Ram Singh.	
71	Ram Singh ...	Sungram Singh. Durrunder Singh.	
72	Sungram Singh ...	Oogr Sein Singh.	
73	Oogr Sein Singh ...	Houl Singh.	
74	Houl Singh ...	Narain Mull. Pertab Roodur Singh. Krishen Singh.	
75	Narain Mull	Nirmul Sahí.	The Raj was entrusted to Purtab Roodur Singh for some time, because Nirmul Sahí was a minor. This Roodur Singh is mentioned in the Luknesur Records as having had possession of the Pergunnah about 1700 A. D.
76	Nirmul Sahí ...	Bandhana Sahí. Soojah Sahí.	
77	Bandhana Sahí ...	Horil Singh.	
78	Horil Singh ...	Chutturdharee Singh. Urmurdun Singh. Hole Singh.	
79	Chutturdharee Singh	Bikramajeet Singh. Doosht Dewun Singh.	Doosht Dewun had two sons, Sheo Purgass Singh, Hur Purgass Singh, Romesur Bux, son of Sheo Purgass Singh, and Purmeshur Bux, son of Hur Purgass Singh; none of them became Rajah.

No. II.

Pedigree of the Rajahs of Doomraon, Zillah Shahabad.—(Concluded.)

No.	Name of Rajah.	Sons of Rajah.	Remarks.
80	Bikramajeet Singh ...	Jai Purgass Singh.	Bikramajeet was Rajah at the time of Rajah Cheyte Singh's rebellion. He was allowed by Warren Hastings an annual allowance of Rs 4,000 on account of some villages he had formerly owned in Perguunah Zumanecah. On his death, in 1801, Government at first ordered discontinuance of the allowance, but, on account of the great poverty of Jai Purgass Singh, continued the allowance.
81	Jai Purgass Singh	Lall Beshesur Singh. Lall Mahesur Singh.	
82	Beseshur Singh ...	Janki Pershaud Singh.	
83	Janki Pershaud Singh, Bahadoor.	Mahrajah Mahessur Bux Singh Bahadoor.	
84	Mahessur Bux Singh, Bahadoor.	Radha Pershaud Singh.	Is still the Rajah of Doomraon. His son Radha Pershaud has now taken the entire management of the estates, and the Rajah has retired from worldly affairs (1870).

No. III.

Extract from Report of Moonshee Dabee Pershad, Tehseeldar of Russerah, on preparation of Village Papers, Pergunnah Luknesur, dated the 17th August, 1870.

1. Although an accurate account of the former condition of this pergunnah is almost impossible, from the absence of written records, it will not be without advantage to recount such matters as are known by oral tradition, or by such papers as exist. It is well known that this pergunnah was formerly scantily inhabited, and in great part waste. At the time when Rama Chund and Luchmun went from Ajodhya (Oudh) to Buxar, they came to the place where the village of Luknesur now stands. Seeing this place very pleasantly situated on the bank of the Surjoo, Luchmun, who is properly called Lukhan in Hindee, placed a temple of Mahadeva here, and thenceforth that idol was known by the name of Luknesur Mahadeva, and when this place was inhabited it came to be known by the name of Luknesur. As it was the dwelling place of the Rajah, the whole pergunnah was thus known by that name.

2. Nearly 800 years ago, there was a certain Rajah of the Bhur caste in Luknesur who ruled the neighbouring villages, traces of whose old castle are still to be found. At this time there were two brothers, Beer Thakoor and Hurry Thakoor, who came from Pergunnah Phaphoond in Etawah, and dwelt in Mouzah Peerpursat, which is now situated in Pergunnah Zahoorabad.

3. In this village was also living the daughter of the Rajah, and for some reason or other, the Rajah entertained a suspicion that there was an improper intercourse between her and Hurry Thakoor. For this reason, the Rajah caused Hurry Thakoor to be so severely beaten that his life was in danger. After his recovery both the brothers combined to take revenge.

4. Having gathered a small company, they attacked the Rajah of Luknesur, but utterly failed. But when this feud had continued for two or three years, Kehar Thakoor and Mehar Thakoor, who were Government servants, and of the caste of Hurry Thakoor and Beer Thakoor, gave assistance, and the Rajah of Luknesur, having been defeated, gave his daughter in marriage to Hurry Thakoor.

5. From that time the Thakoor Rajpoots of the Seyngurh tribe prevailed in this principality. But now there occurred disagreement between the victors. Kehar Thakoor and Mehar Thakoor declared the principality to be theirs, for they said it was gained by their assistance, which Beer Thakoor and Hurry Thakoor totally denied. Several battles took place between them, and Mehar Thakoor and Kehar Thakoor were obliged at last to go to Tuppah Dhaka, in Pergunnah Zahoorabad, where they settled, and the descendants of their family are there up to this time. There now remained Beer Thakoor and Hurry Thakoor, who lived in union, and in the twelfth generation were succeeded by Kusoom Rai and Baijal Rai, whose descendants are the zemindars in this pergunnah. Here it is proper to note so much of Beer Thakoor as that he had a son named Khemandeva, who had four sons, *viz.*, Rawut Rai, Amur Rai, Payak Rai, and Sawunt Rai, and there occurred disunion between them and the descendants of Hurry Thakoor abovementioned. For this reason, Amur Singh went to Pergunnah Zahoorabad, and Payak Rai and Sawunt Rai to Secunderpoor, in Zillah Azimghur, and a portion of land was given to Rawut Rai for his personal expenses, in which his son Maharaj Rai founded a village, and called it by the name of Maharajpoora.

6. The present Jumma of this village is Rs. 118-12-9, and this is the only village which is now in the possession of the descendants of Beer Thakoor. The rest of the pergunnah, with few exceptions, is inhabited and possessed by the descendants of Hurry Thakoor. The heirs of Kusoom Rai, and those of Baijal Rai, divided the pergunnah into two parts, and took separate possession without any connection with each other. At present there are 79 villages, at a Jumma of Rs. 11,357-2-6, in the posses-

sion of the descendants of Kusoom Rai, and 49 villages, at a Jumma of Rs. 8,173-4-0, in the possession of the descendants of Baijal Rai. As Kusoom Rai and Baijal Rai were brothers and possessors of equal shares, it is strange to find that the descendants of Kusoom Rai acquired possession of nearly two-thirds of the pergunnah. The reasons appear to be that Kusoom Rai was the elder brother, and on account of his seniority he got a greater portion, or that Kusoom Rai had a larger family than that of Baijal Rai, and thus Kusoom Rai's descendants got the possession of a greater part of the holding by force, which the heirs of Baijal Rai were too weak to recover.

The customs with regard to possession and division of Land and the payment of Revenue.

1. In course of time, as the descendants of these founders multiplied, the holdings became excessively divided, and the shares of the proprietors were not estimated as in other parts by fractions of the rupee or the beegah, but were beegahdam : that is, each man's holding represented his share. But there was a general custom prevailing by which a shareholder possessed of lands in several villages would pay his whole revenue only in one village. The waste and unculturable lands were, in general, divided among several families, and in each of these families the waste would be held in common in some cases, and in others further sub-divided. There was no fixed rule for dividing the profits of the land held in common, and the more powerful wronged the weak. The rights of the various shareholders by virtue of their descent, and degrees of propinquity, are not entirely forgotten, but through carelessness, usurpation, sales of lands, and illegal partitions, these rights are altogether in abeyance, and the actual rights are measured by custom. In some instances *sayer* collections are divided in accordance with ancestral right.

2. Although previous to the year 1803 the revenue for the whole pergunnah was paid in a single sum, it is certain that the several villages contributed at a proportional rate. The inveterate practice among them of each shareholder paying only in one village the revenue due from his lands situated in several villages went to this extent, that when lands were purchased in another village, the purchaser would not pay in that, but in his own village, and, in consequence, the Jummas of villages were always undergoing change. This alteration of Jumma was not effected at every change of property, but from time to time for the whole pergunnah, and it appears from the Chitta papers that since 1150 Fuslee three changes have been effected, *viz.*, in 1177 Fuslee, 1180 Fuslee, and 1191 Fuslee.

3. In 1098 Fuslee, Rajah Roodur Shah of Bhojpoor, whose capital was Buxar, obtained possession of this pergunnah, and held it "kham" up to 1101 Fuslee, and in 1102 Fuslee, having caused a survey to be made, fixed a revenue of Rs. 6,298. In 1145 Fuslee it was increased to Rs. 8,000, and in 1170 Fuslee to Rs. 14,000.

4. Afterwards Rajah Bulwunt Singh of Benares got possession, and in 1177 Fuslee fixed the revenue at Rs. 17,000, and in 1185 Fuslee increased it to Rs. 20,501.

5. It continued to pay this revenue when the pergunnah fell to the English Government in 1781 A. D. Out of this amount, Rs. 1,643 were annually allowed as *nankar* or subsistence allowance to the headmen of four families, who made themselves responsible for the revenue. The net revenue remaining was Rs. 18,858 per annum.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

No. I.

Translation of Omrao Singh's Report to Mr. Jonathan Duncan of the date of the dispossession of sundry of the farmers and landholders of the districts now composing parts of the Zemindary of Benares, dated 9th May, 1788 *A. D.*

1*st.* Meer Roostum Ali Khan was displaced from his farms of the Sircars of Benares, Chunar, and Jounpore, and Bulwunt Singh was appointed by the Nawab Sadut Khan to the charge of the collections thereof on the 21st of the month of Suffer in the 1151 of the Hijirah, that is, 51 years and 7 months ago.

2*nd.* The Rajah of Bijeyghur was forced to resign his Amuldary of the Bijeyghur District, and to sell the fortress of that name for Rs. 70,000 to Rajah Bulwunt Singh, in the Fuslee year 1160, that is, 36 years ago. Rajah Adil Singh is the present representative of this family.

3*rd.* Lall Bickramajit, the Rajah of Pergunnah Kuntit (the ancestor of Gobind Jeet and Rajah Ram Ghoolam), was displaced in 1161 Fuslee, that is, 35 years ago. At that time Mohamed Kooly Khan and Roy Pertaub Singh were the Naibs of the Soobah of Allahabad and Oudh. As there was a large balance of revenue due from the said Lall Bickramajit to the aforesaid Kooly Khan, as Naib of Allahabad, Bulwunt Singh, who then paid his revenue to Roy Pertaub Singh, who came to assist Kooly Khan in the expulsion of Bickramajit, gave the Banker Nundoo Lall Sah security for Rs. 90,000 for the liquidation of the latter's balance, and thereupon possessed himself of Kuntit.

4. The Nawab Abul Munsoor Khan, the father of Shooja-ood-owla Hijra, that is, 33 years ago. (Sic in original; query, died in 1169 H. ?)

5. The Nawab Fuzl Ali Khan of Ghazeepoor was displaced from Ghazeepoor in 1169 Fuslee, that is, 27 years ago. Beny Bahadoor was at that time Naib of the Soobah of Oudh on the part of the Nawab Shooja-ood-owla, and appointed Rajah Bulwunt Singh to Ghazeepoor.

6. Baboo Doorbijey Singh (the father of Rajah Bhuggut Singh), then the Zemindar of Sirenga in the Pergunnah of Chousa, was by force of arms ejected by Rajah Bulwunt Singh in 1170 Fuslee, that is, 26 years ago.

7. Bhowul Singh, the Zemindar of the Pergunnah of Beliah, was displaced by Bulwunt Singh in the Fuslee year 1171,—25 years ago.

Order thereon to the Rajah.—Ordered that the Rajah be directed to annex the village appertaining to the Jageers of the Rajahs Bhuggut and Bhowul Singh to the public revenue from the 1st of Bysakh, and to settle accounts with the Rajahs in question, and transmit their acquittances up to the end of Cheite, and to retain the Jageer of Rajah Adil Singh in the state it now is until further order.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 10, 2nd and 3rd paras.—For "pully" and "pullies," *read* "pulley" and "pulleys."

Page 11, rain-fall return.—For "average 45·22" inches, *read* "average 43·5" inches.

Page 12.—For "average annual temperature at 10 A. M., 80·56 degrees, and at 4 P. M., 86·49," *read* "average annual temperature at 10 A. M., 80·59, and at 4 P. M., 86·54."

Page 23, line 47.—For "about 30 feet high and 2 feet thick," *read* "about 30 feet high and between 3 and 4 feet thick."

In reference to the Puhladpoor Lath, Babú Rajendra Lala Mitra, in a letter dated 27th January, 1871, says:—

"As you intend to bring out an errata, I take the liberty to point out that my friend Babú Siva Prasad is wrong in supplying, by a mere guess, a proper name in the Puhladpoor inscription.

"The word 'Dharmapálá' does not occur in it; any other name of the same metrical quantity would fill up the blank in the original quite as well as that word.

"As very few will read the *fac-simile*, the introduction of a proper name, without a word of warning, is calculated to mislead people."

Page 52, line 17.—For "each of the pergunnahs," *read* "nearly every one of the pergunnahs."

Page 54, 2nd column of table, 3rd line from foot of page.—For "Mahowrha," *read* "Mahowrba."

Page 58, line 34.—For "During the government of the first Rajah of Benares—Bulwant Singh, one of the Guhurwars,—Baboo Murdun Singh," *read* "During the government of the first Rajah of Benares—Bulwunt Singh—one of the Guhurwars, Babú Murdan Singh."

Page 59, line 44.—For "Bhoirg," *read* "Bhirg."

Page 69, line 19.—For "offer," *read* "after."

" " line 33.—For "probably more than Rs. 500," *read* "probably more than Rs. 1,200."

Page 78, line 24.—For "re-manning," *read* "re-naming."

" " line 25.—For "steps" *read* "sleeps."

Page 83, line 18.—For "cultivated," *read* "cultivator."

" " line 22.—For "third-six," *read* "thirty-six."

Page 84, lines 21, 22.—For "Akber's rupee was therefore intrinsically worth 2 rupees 1 anna of the rupees now current," *read* "Akber's rupee was therefore intrinsically worth 1 rupee 1 anna."

Page 85, line 23.—For "the Government share 4,112 maunds ¾ seer," *read* "the Government share 4 maunds and 12¾ seers."

Page 86, line 11.—For "all land," *read* "nearly all land."

Page 89, line 41.—For "works," *read* "work."

Page 91, line 11.—For "Nawab," *read* "Nowul."

Page 93, line 2.—For "speed of railroads," *read* "spread of railroads."

Page 103, line 41.—For "south," *read* "north."

Page 108, lines 47, 48.—For "All his property was attacked," *read* "All his property was attached."

Page 110, Note 14.—For "page 7273," *read* "pages 72, 73."

Appendices to Chapter I., page vi., lines 37, 38.—"The water in wells in tracts of country which contains reh is impregnated with saline matter." This opinion, from further observation and enquiry, I consider erroneous. The well-water in such tracts of country is generally pure.